FOLKLORE STUDIES : 19

The Divine Twins

An Indo-European Myth
in Germanic Tradition

By DONALD WARD

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TO
MARY LOU

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In the course of conducting and writing this investigation, I have contracted many debts among students, colleagues, and various scholars around the world. Indeed, since I have attempted to cover the mythologies, epics, and popular traditions of areas that lie outside the field of my special training, this investigation would never have been realized without the help of others. However deep my obligations to specific individuals may be, I owe even more to a unique establishment that provided the environment in which minds from various disciplines were able to cooperate and share knowledge. I speak of the Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology of the University of California, Los Angeles. Only through such a center could a study with so ambitious a scope have been undertaken. Such a center, however, can be no better than the individuals who make it function, and it is to these people that I want to express my thanks. I am particularly grateful to Professor Jaan Puhvel, head of the Indo-European Section of the Department of Classics, who introduced me to the field of comparative Indo-European mythology and whose advice and admonitions proved indispensable; to Professor Franz Bäuml of Germanic Languages for his helpful suggestions; and to Professor Terence Wilbur of Germanic Languages for his help in philological matters. Particularly helpful was Professor Samuel Armistead, formerly of the Spanish Department, who allowed me to consult his unpublished collection of Sephardic ballad texts, and other unpublished material. Also of help were students of various departments of the university. I am especially grateful to Anastasia Norre of the Classics Department, who shared the results of her research with me; to Paul Overton, who permitted me to consult the voluminous bibliography of his forthcoming dissertation; and to C. Scott Littleton, whose dissertation on the works of Georges Dumézil proved a most welcome aid. I also wish to thank Mara Krisbergs and Birute Lembergas for their translations of Latvian and Lithuanian texts. I am also indebted to a number of illustrious scholars throughout the world for their cooperation: Archer Taylor of the University of California, Berkeley; Mihai Pop of Bucharest; Haralds Biezais of the University of Uppsala; Roger Pinon of Liège, Lago Vargyas of Budapest; Dem. Petropulos of the University of Thessaloniki, Greece; and Milko Matičetov of Ljubljana. Finally, there is one man whose scholarship, willingness to sacrifice, and integrity will be a model to me throughout my lifetime. Without his patience, foresight, and selfless hard work, the Folklore Center would never have become a reality. I speak of Wayland D. Hand, Director of the Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.

D. W.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this investigation is to determine whether the Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins was known among Germanic peoples. This concise statement of purpose implies a number of assumptions, all of which are problematic. First, the statement implies that there was once a Proto-Indo-European community sharing a common culture and religion. The second implication is that there existed a Proto-Germanic religion analogous to the Proto-Germanic language, and that this religion was related to the Indo-European religion in much the same way the Proto-Germanic language was related to the Proto-Indo-European language. Finally, the statement includes the express assumption that there was an exclusively Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins.

The first two assumptions, on which many of the early comparative mythologists based their investigations, have been questioned by some distinguished scholars. For example, as early as 1925, Karl Helm, one of the leading students of Germanic religion, rejected not only the concept of a Proto-Indo-European religion but of a common Germanic religion as well:

> Nachdem ich die Annahme einer gemeingermanischen Götterwelt abgelehnt habe, ist es klar, dass die Annahme einer gemeinindogermanischen vor der sogenannten Völkertrennung existierenden Götterwelt für mich nicht diskutabel ist. Eine solche Annahme widerspricht ebenso sehr den Gesetzen religiöser wie ethnographischer Entwicklung.[1]

A similar attitude was expressed more recently by Ernst Ebbingshaus, who not only dismisses the discipline of comparative Indo-European mythology, but implies that it is wrong to use the word "Germanic" to designate a people or a culture:

> Both Germanic and Indo-European are linguistic terms and should not be used otherwise. The "IE religion" of which some contemporary scholars seem to know so much was invented in the earlier part of the nineteenth century A.D. Neither daring etymologies, nor the rehashing of Adalbert Kuhn's comparison of myths can make it any older.[2]

These attitudes imply that an investigation of the kind to be undertaken here would have no chance of succeeding because it would be founded on untenable assumptions. While it is true that early comparative mythologists erred in basing their studies on these untested assumptions, it is no less an error to dismiss a theory before weighing it against the evidence. For this reason, the present investigation has been undertaken with these problematic questions left open, and the evidence has been allowed to speak for itself.

The third assumption, regarding an exclusively Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins, offers special problems. It would be convenient to posit such a mythological tradition, as others have done, by adducing the evidence that shows striking parallels between the various pairs of divinities found in the mythologies of "Indo-European" peoples. The question, however, is too complex to be answered

by so simple a procedure. Divine Twins are by no means limited to the Indo-European tradition; they are found throughout the world. Moreover, many of the characteristics and mythological themes associated with such pairs are so widespread that they can be accurately labeled universal. Therefore, before one can attempt to isolate a tradition of twin divinities within a given language family, consideration must be given to the universal aspects of twin worship. Only then can the investigator posit certain traits and functions as belonging exclusively to the Indo-European tradition.

Another difficulty arises out of the lack of source material. The Icelandic Eddas, which offer the only extensive documentation of Germanic mythology, provide only ambiguous evidence of the Germanic Divine Twins. Thus, if one wishes to uncover evidence of the twins in Germanic tradition, one must rely on other sources. The validity of such sources for this purpose, however, has been dismissed by Hermann Schneider, who furthermore believes that it is futile to attempt to locate the Germanic Divine Twins:

> Sie [the Divine Twins] . . . möglichst getreu auf germanischem Boden anzutreffen, ist das Streben der Forscher, die unverdrossen, heute wie vor 80 Jahren, nach Spuren der beiden suchen, und, einem sonst ganz überholten Verfahren gemäss, auch germanische Geschichte und Heldensage nach ihnen durchwühlten.[3]

Schneider thus maintains that the use of historic and heroic sources in the study of mythology represents an entirely outdated method. While it is true that many "romantic" scholars have committed abuses in their interpretation of historic and heroic sources, the reaction to such methods has led Schneider, as well as others, to commit another methodological error, namely, the automatic rejection of all source material that happens to be labeled "historic" or "heroic." Such labels are frequently arbitrary, and should not be viewed as the absolute criterion in evaluating the validity of source material. Therefore, in this study each piece of evidence has been investigated for its own value, and has not been dismissed merely because of the arbitrary label it bears.

I

UNIVERSAL DIOSCURISM

Although all peoples of the world are subject to the phenomenon of multiple birth, such an event nevertheless is considered unusual and frequently arouses feelings of awe. These feelings are evidently responsible not only for the widespread similarity in attitudes toward human twins, but also for the striking agreement in religious and mythological concepts involving divine twins throughout the world. Because of this universal nature of the problem,[1] one cannot investigate the Dioscuric traditions that occur within a single language family without considering the ethnographic evidence of the attitudes toward human twins the world over and the Dioscuric mythological traditions that can be called "universal."[2]

Cross Twins and Parallel Twins.—Divine twins, like their human counterparts, inevitably fall into two main categories: those of like sex (parallel twins) and those of different sexes (cross twins). The latter class is represented in mythology by such pairs as the Vedic Yama and Yami, and the Norse Askr and Embla. The belief that such pairs were, like Adam and Eve, the first humans is almost universal. Moreover, there is a widespread belief that human cross twins have committed prenatal incest, and this notion has evidently contributed to the striking similarities of various mythological traditions involving such pairs.[3]

As with cross-sex twins, the mythological tradition involving parallel twins shows a remarkable similarity throughout the world. The two traditions are, however, quite distinct; each of them represents an independent and relatively well-defined religious/mythological complex. The mythologies of peoples who speak languages related to the Indo-European include traditions of both cross twins and parallel twins. The tradition of cross twins, however, is not nearly so complete and well-defined as that of parallel twins, and as a result, does not lend itself readily to a comparative investigation. It is for this reason that the present study is limited essentially to those traditions involving parallel twins.

The universal mythological complex of parallel twins which is treated in this chapter is easily recognizable as such. Each of the divine pair is frequently begotten by a different father, one of whom is a celestial divinity; the twins show contrasting natures; they are frequently called upon to defend their mistreated mother; and they are worshipped as divinities of fertility. In some of the mythological traditions, however, the twinship of the pair is not particularly stressed. The Latvian *Dievu dēli*, for example, whose traits and functions are clearly part of the universal Dioscuric pattern, are never specifically referred to as twins. Since such pairs are clearly Dioscuric divinities, they are treated in this investigation along with those deities who are specifically called twins. Moreover, the term "divine twins" is used to refer to all those pairs who fit the Dioscuric pattern, whether or not there is evidence of their simultaneous birth.

Dual Paternity.—The belief that a multiple birth is the result of multiple conception is worldwide in its distribution. Thus one frequently encounters the notion that a pair of twins cannot possibly be begotten by a single father.[4] The attitudes recorded in some of the legends collected by the Brothers Grimm attest to the fact that this belief was current in Europe even in modern times. For example, Legend No. 521: "Es ist unmöglich, dass dieses Weib drei Kinder von einem Mann haben könne ohne Ehebruch."[5] Similarly, Legend No. 584: "Es ist unmöglich, dass ein Weib zwei Kinder auf einmal von einem Vater habe."[6] As a result of this belief, the notion naturally arises that the mother of a set of twins is an adulteress. On the other hand, one frequently assumes that she has been visited by a god or a spirit in addition to her husband. Thus, among the Indians of Peru, one of a pair of twins is considered to be the son of a thunderbolt.[7] Among North American Indians, there are marginal hunting peoples who kill one or both of a pair of twins, justifying the act by claiming that one of the twins was the child of a spirit or of another man.[8] Similarly, the Shilluk of East Africa call all twins *nuole juok* 'children of god.'[9] Traces of this belief in the dual paternity of twins have evidently survived in the form of a superstition found among German immigrants in the United States: "Wann em der mund uf der ārsch scheint iberm fegle, gebts zwilling."[10] This passage expresses, in rather blatant terms, the belief that if the moon were to shine upon one's buttocks during copulation, the woman would give birth to twins. Although the original meaning of this superstition had evidently been forgotten by the time it was recorded, its origin can probably be attributed to the belief in dual conception. In this instance the Moon and the husband beget one child each. Similarly, in England when a woman bore twins it was often said that she had "Martin's hammer knocking at her wicket."[11] The reference here is evidently to St. Martin, who, according to some investigators, had assumed the role of the Germanic Thunder-God, hammer and all.[12] If this assumption is true, attributing the pregnancy to St. Martin's hammer is then unquestionably the survival of an ancient religious belief that the Germanic god of thunder shared in the conception of twins.

These notions of the dual paternity of human twins have influenced the formation of mythological traditions involving divine twins as they occur throughout the world. A typical example is provided by the mythology of the Apapocuva Indians of south Brazil. The pantheon of this tribe includes a pair of divine twins, one of whom is considered the son of a high deity, "Our Great Father," while the second twin is considered the son of a lesser divinity, "Our Father, Knower of All Things."[13] Ancient Greece provides many analogous examples of the dual paternity of mythological twins. The twin sons of Alkmene, for example, have different fathers. Herakles was fathered by Zeus, while Iphikles was fathered by the mortal Amphitryon. The identical concept of dual paternity, as we shall see, played a major role in the Indo-European tradition of divine twins.

Differences between Divine Twins.—In view of this widespread belief that twins are the product of two fathers, it is not surprising to learn that mythological traditions frequently emphasize the difference between divine twins. There are many well-known examples of this concept. Ormuzd represents light; his twin, Ahrimann, represents darkness. Esau is the bold, vigorous huntsman; Jacob, the

docile shepherd. Amphion is a musician; his twin brother, Zethos, is a huntsman. Among the Brazilian Apapocuva, the elder of the divine twins is a powerful deity who resides in heaven; the younger, who is of minor importance, resides in the East with his mother. One of the twins is of a sanguine and choleric nature, while the other is of phlegmatic, melancholy temperament.[14] Generally throughout the Americas the traditions of the divine twins report that the elder is clever and capable, while the younger is a foolish, lazy dumbling.[15] Furthermore, since one member of a pair of twins is often considered to have been fathered by a god, one encounters many traditions in which one twin is considered mortal, while the other is immortal. The Greek Dioskouroi, Kastor and Polydeukes, represent merely the most famous example of this concept.[16]

Treatment of the Mother of Twins.—Since the mother of a set of twins is frequently considered to have been guilty of adultery or to have been favored by the gods, she is treated accordingly. In many instances she is forced to leave the village, or she is otherwise mistreated. For example, among the natives of Bali, the birth of twins necessitates the expulsion of the mother and her children to a forest hut for a period of forty-two days.[17] Among the African Apono, the period is six years.[18] Among various peoples the mother and her twin children are killed.[19] In many instances, however, the mother of twins receives preferential treatment. She is often an important figure in twin cults, and she and her children are frequently accorded a semidivine status.[20] The fact that the mother of twin brethren often plays a dominant role in the mythological traditions can probably be attributed to these widespread attitudes. On the other hand, the abandonment or cruel punishment of the mother may well have contributed to the many Dioscuric myths in which the twins become her liberators, and/or avengers. The famous legend of Amphion and Zethos, the Theban twins, is merely one of many treatments of this theme.[21]

Twins as Divinities of Fertility.—The phenomenon of multiple birth quite obviously suggests fertility; consequently, twins and the mother of twins play a dominant role in fertility rituals of peoples throughout the world. Often one can discern the principle of contagious magic at work in such rites. For example, among the African Busoga, twins and their mother sow the fields to assure a good crop.[22] Among the Baganda, seeds are placed in contact with the body of the mother of twins, while the twins themselves make the plows.[23] The twins of the Yuman Indians of the Colorado River are believed to have been sent from heaven to bring rain and fertility.[24] Similarly, the Nilotic and Bantu cattle-raisers consider twins to be a gift of god to assure fertility of cattle and crops, and a fertility dance is performed to celebrate their birth.[25]

In Turkey, the shrine of Gabbar Dede and his brother Bulamacly Dede is visited by an outcast Moslem group of peasants (the Fellahs) among whom fertility magic is still practiced. Young married couples hang crude dolls and cradles at the tomb to induce conception. Fertility symbols are also evident on the gravestones of the shrine.[26] Similarly, the earth that covered the alleged tombs of the Theban twins Amphion and Zethos was thought to have possessed special fertility powers, and measures had to be taken to protect the tombs.[27] Even in Europe one finds peasant fertility rites involving twins and the mothers of twins.[28] In Bali a set of twins in the village is viewed as assuring rich rice crops, prosperity, and wealth.[29]

It should be emphasized that the majority of the ethnographic data regarding the fertility-promoting abilities of twins deals not with divine twins, but with human twins and their mothers. Even the report of the legendary Theban twins Amphion and Zethos is concerned with their tomb, indicating that the twin brethren were once considered to have led a mortal or, at least, incarnate existence. It is often human twins who possess the divine power to grant fertility and wealth, and consequently, human twins themselves are often worshipped for these abilities. The problem of the divine power of human twins is of primary importance to this investigation and is discussed in greater detail later.

The close association of mortal twins with fertility has certainly had its effect on Dioscuric traditions. Divine twins are traditionally born on the shores of lakes, streams, or oceans, or upon island sanctuaries,[30] and are thus connected with water as a primeval generative force. Furthermore, mothers of twins are frequently associated with water divinities. Rhea, the mother of Romulus and Remus, was the wife of a river-god, and Leda, the mother of the Dioskouroi, was the daughter of a sea-god. The frequent connection of divine twins with the sky, and with certain plants and animals, can no doubt be attributed to the association of twins with the function of fertility.[31]

The Names of Divine Twins.—The naming of twins follows distinct patterns the world over.[32] It is common for a pair of twins to be called by a single name in the plural, or dual; for example, "Dioskouroi," "Alcis," and "Aśvinā." Sometimes the proper name of one twin is applied to both, for example, the Roman "Castores." In some instances the twins share the same name in the singular with a differentiating adjective, for example, "Halfdan the Black" and "Halfdan the White." Or their names may be differentiated by Ablaut, for example, "Romus" and "Remus" (Romulus is a secondary form). Often one encounters the same name with a differentiating suffix, for example, the twin saints "Ferrutius" and "Ferrutio." Conversely, there are varying names that share the same last element: "Sintram" and "Baltram," or "Herakles" and "Iphikles." There are names that rhyme—"Huz" and "Buz"—or different names that share a single meaning—"Hengest" and "Horsa," each of which means "horse."[33] Rarely does one find a pair of twins, either divine or human, who are not named according to one or more of the above schemes.

Friendship and Hostility of Twins.—Since twins are usually together, having even shared the same womb, it is not surprising to find an unusually close friendship between members of such pairs. Polydeukes, for example, is willing to sacrifice his immortality for his brother Kastor. In various Dioscuric traditions, the death of one twin automatically means death for the other.[34]

There is another side to the coin, however. Twins often show great hostility to one another. There is even a widespread belief that twins fight within the womb.

The most famous example of such hostility is the Biblical pair Esau and Jacob (Gen. 25: 22). A parallel example occurs in ancient Greece between Acrisios and Proitos (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* II, 2, 1).[35] The fact that divine twins frequently exhibit contrasting natures may also contribute to the hostility between them in mythological traditions.[36] This theme is universal in its distribution, and is also known among Indo-European-speaking peoples (e.g., Romulus and Remus). In view of the universal distribution of this theme, it would be difficult if not impossible to see its occurrence among Indo-European-speaking peoples as evidence of an exclusively Indo-European myth. Fortunately, this problem need not be of concern in this investigation, for there is no evidence that this theme ever played a significant role in myths associated with the Indo-European Divine Twins.

The Divine Status of Human Twins.—A curious aspect involving "universal Dioscurism" is the manner in which human and divine twins often tend to overlap, indeed to such a degree that one has difficulty in keeping them separate. One notices that divine twins are traditionally very human, and that human twins frequently possess divine powers. Among the Ambo of East Africa, for example, twins are given royal names, and they are treated as royality.[37] The Yuman Indians of the Colorado River consider their twins to have been sent from heaven and such pairs are thus sacred. The same is true for the Bantu and Nilotic cattle-raisers.[38] The Tetons of North America believed that twins were superhuman, that they were sent from the "land of the twins," and could be reincarnated many times.[39] Such evidence has led Leo Sternberg to the assumption that twin cults, wherever they occur, are the result of the deification of a pair of human twins. The birth of twins, he maintains, is an event of such supernatural magnitude that it inevitably resulted in the establishment of a new twin cult.[40] Moreover, this apotheosis was true, according to Sternberg, even in instances where a twin cult occupied the center of a national religion, as, for example; with Osiris.[41] In such instances the local cult was absorbed into the pantheon of gods of an entire nation, and ultimately the worship of the twin deities became part of the national religion.

Sternberg adduces much evidence that lends support to his theory, and the entire structure is quite credible. On the other hand, even if one accepts his theory in toto as an explanation for the origin of all twin cults, very few questions are really answered. For example, Sternberg applies his hypothesis to various well-known examples of twin cults and attempts to explain the origin of each in terms of the independent local worship of a pair of human twins. Still working within the framework of his hypothesis, one must concede, however, that a cult of divine twins which had become a part of a national religion could have spread into new areas either by diffusion or by migrating peoples. Therefore, according to Sternberg's scheme, the similarity between the Greek Dioskouroi and the Vedic Aśvins could be explained either by the independent development of local cults, or by a common Indo-European origin. In other words, the hypothesis fails to supply a complete answer.

There are other problems that the Sternberg theory cannot solve. For example, what happens in a tribe or a people possessing a cult of divine twins when a new set of twins is born? Do the new twins immediately become the object of a new cult, and does the old cult automatically go out of existence? Such a development does not seem likely. The ethnographic data fail to provide a clear picture of precisely what occurs in such situations. There are, however, some reports that permit one to draw certain conclusions. It has been shown, for instance, that the Tetons considered twins to be supernatural and that such pairs could be born again and again into the tribe. This attitude perhaps holds the key to the solution of the problem. A set of twins may well be considered sacred, not merely because their birth is an extraordinary event, but because they are viewed as the incarnations of a divine pair.[42] In Peru there is evidence that a pair of twins was considered to be an incarnation of the thunder-god.[43] One can observe a similar phenomenon in ancient Greece where various pairs of Spartan kings were thought of as the incarnations of the mythological Dioskouroi.[44] This phenomenon is treated in greater detail during the course of this investigation, and it is shown that the concept of the incarnation of divine twins evidently played an important role in Indo-European tradition and especially among various Germanic peoples.

It must be stressed that in the summary of the universal aspects of Dioscurism, no attempt has been made to be inclusive. Twins are born among all peoples of the world, and a single investigator could scarcely assemble all the ethnographic data that have been recorded about twins and their place in society. Even a brief survey of the universal Dioscuric traditions, however, can help the investigator avoid many of the pitfalls into which earlier scholars have fallen. For example, when such a fine scholar as Hermann Güntert attempted to prove that the Vedic Aśvins were not really twins,[45] the evidence he adduced to support this contention represented precisely those traits typical of Dioscuric pairs. Other scholars, too, in their enthusiasm to establish the existence of an exclusively Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins have seized upon those traits and functions that are universal and are thus poorly suited for their purpose.[46]

The feelings toward multiple birth which are nearly identical the world over were also, of course, common to the Indo-European peoples. Therefore, in studying the Indo-European tradition, it will be found that the various pairs of deities share many of the universal traits. Nevertheless, the Indo-European twins will be seen to have in common many detailed characteristics and functions which reveal a relationship so striking that it can only be explained by assuming a common origin.

It should be stressed that precisley those scholars who have been concerned with the universal nature of twin divinities have conceded that there is an exclusively Indo-European tradition.[47] For example, J. Rendel Harris states emphatically that:

> the Lithuanian . . . "sons of God" who ride upon a chariot, and liberate the daughter of the sun . . . should be classified with Greek forms as coming from a common Indo-European origin.[48]

Similarly, Alexander Haggerty Krappe, while discussing the theme of the liberation of the Sun Maiden by the Divine Twins states:

> La concordance entre toutes ces légendes est par trop frappante pour n'être qu'un accident. Il s'agit plutôt d'un thème déjà bien connu aux Indo-Européens avant leur séparation.[49]

Wilhelm Mannhardt, who was primarily interested in the solar phenomena associated with the divine twins, and who uncovered countless parallels in various mythologies, agrees:

> Ausserdem aber stimmt im Ganzen der lettische Sonnenmythus so genau mit dem altarischen im Veda und dem altgriechischen überein, dass derjenige schwerlich auf Widerspruch stossen wird, welcher in ihm ein ziemlich treu erhaltenes Nachbild der proethnischen, indoeuropäischen Sonnenmythologie vor sich zu haben vermuthen möchte.[50]

Rather than accept the opinions of others regarding the problem of an exclusively Indo-European Dioscuric tradition, however, I have allowed the evidence to speak for itself.

II

THE INDO-EUROPEAN DIVINE TWINS

Although evidence of the mythologies and religions of Indo-European peoples occurs in a variety of sources, most of the available information on the Divine Twins is restricted to three widely separated traditions: the Indo-Iranian, the Graeco-Roman, and the Baltic.

The Indo-Iranian Tradition.—In India the *Rig Veda* constitutes the most valuable single deposit of mythological source material. The majority of this material is found in the *Samhitā*, a redaction of the *Vedas* consisting of collections of hymns, most of which were composed sometime during the second millennium B.C., the preclassical period of Sanskrit literature. Since they invoke a variety of deities, the hymns provide an excellent source for the study of the Hindu pantheon. On the other hand, because of the very nature of the material, viz. incantations and prayers, the *Samhitā* do not contain myths as such. Nevertheless, many themes that were once part of a corpus of mythology can be discerned.[1] Although other Sanskrit sources, including the later epics, offer a limited amount of material on the Divine Twins, such information is meaningful only when interpreted with reference to the Vedic hymns.

The remaining Indo-Iranian sources—for example, the Avesta—contain only a very sparse amount of information on the twin divinities. Even the mere mention of the twins in such documents, however, is of importance, as is later shown.

The Graeco-Roman Tradition.—In the Mediterranean area one can find numerous sets of twins, both heroic and divine,[2] which are well documented in a variety of sources: Herodotus, Pausanias, Plutarch, and many others.[3] Despite the relatively large number of twins found in the sources of ancient Greece, the most famous pair, the Spartan Dioskouroi, best represent the Indo-European tradition. Since these twins were favorite patrons of seamen and warriors, their cult soon spread across the Mediterranean area. As a result, the Spartan Divine Twins are also well documented in the Roman sources.[4]

The Baltic Tradition.—The mythological material representing the Baltic area is contained in numerous sources, including reports of missionaries, Papal bulls, various histories and chronicles, Bishops' orders, and many others.[5] The vast majority of information on the mythology of the Balts, however, has been preserved in the popular songs.

One reason why the Balts were able to preserve many of their ancient mythological traditions is the relatively late Christianization of their homeland. The new faith was not introduced until after the Teutonic invasions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and long after its introduction the pagan religions continued to exist with a tenacity unknown in other parts of Europe. The Prussian peasants and villagers, for example, remained pagan until their entire culture and language became extinct in the seventeenth century. Similarly, elements of the pagan religion dominated the folk cultures of the Latvian and Lithuanian nations until the nineteenth, and even the beginning of the twentieth, century.[6] The long survival of paganism in this area has permitted an abundance of pre-Christian material to be preserved in the popular traditions, especially in the popular songs, the Lithuanian *dainos* and the Latvian *dainas*.

Although the systematic collecting of Baltic songs did not begin until the latter half of the nineteenth century, the traditions these songs preserve are very old indeed.[7] Linguistic research indicates that the metrical pattern of many of the songs was already established at the time of the divergence of the Lithuanian and Latvian languages in the eighth century.[8] Many of the dainas reflect a certain syncretism of pagan and Christian traditions, but the Christian stratum is recent and can be easily detached. The pre-Christian layer "is so ancient that it undoubtedly reaches back to prehistoric times—at least to the Iron Age or in the case of some elements even several millenia deeper."[9]

The Latvian dainas are more lyric and epigrammatic than narrative. Most of them are very short, often comprising no more than a single four-line stanza. The Lithuanian dainos are often a little longer, and exhibit a slightly more narrative quality than do their Latvian counterparts. Curiously, the majority of the mythological material is found in the shorter, lyric dainas. Owing to their epigrammatic nature, one does not find myths as such in the songs. Nevertheless, one can find at least the motifs and themes that were once part of a corpus of mythology.

In each of the above traditions there is a pair of Divine Twins that occupies an important position in the respective religions and mythologies. These sets of twin divinities have a striking number of traits and functions in common.

Sons of the Sky-God.—In all three traditions the twins are known as the sons of a divinity of the sky. In the hymns of the *Rig Veda* the Divine Twins are the Aśvins, sons of *Dyaus* 'the Sky' (*RV* 4.43.3).[10] The brothers are also called *Divó nápātā* 'Sons of God.'[11] This name corresponds precisely to the Greek *Diòs Kouroi*, who are Kastor and Polydeukes, sons of Zeus, who is also a Sky-God. The identical name is preserved in Baltic mythology, where the twins are called *Dieva dēli* in the Latvian, and *Dievo suneliai* in the Lithuanian, both of which mean 'Sons of God.'

The name Dioskouroi is generally found in the later sources, whereas the earlier Greek sources more often speak of Kastor and Polydeukes as the Tyndaridai, the sons of Tyndareos. Such evidence has led Richard Farnell to conclude that originally the twins were heroic, and their deification was a secondary development.[12] Even Farnell, however, has recognized that some of the earlier sources—e.g., Homeric Hymn No. 17—report that the brothers are the sons of Zeus. Moreover, Homeric Hymn No. 33 even calls the brothers "Dioskouroi."[13] Thus there is good evidence that the Spartan twin brethren were considered from the beginning to be the sons of the Sky-God.[14]

The father of the twins represents the identical mythological concept in all three traditions, indicating that each is a separate manifestation of a common Indo-European divinity. This contention is given incontestable support by the onomastic etymology of each name: Skt. *Dyauh pitar*, Gr. *Zeus páter*, Latv. *Dievs.*[15]

The Sun Maiden, Sister of the Divine Twins.—In all three traditions the Divine Twins have a sister. In the *Rig Veda* she is *Sūryā*, whose name is the feminine equivalent of *Sūryas* 'the Sun.' She also bears the name *Duhitā Sūryasya* 'Daughter of the Sun' (*RV* 1.116.17; 1.118.5; 4.43.2). This name finds a precise parallel in the name of the sister of the Latvian Divine Twins, *Saules meita* 'Daughter of the Sun,' who in the Lithuanian songs is called *Saules dukterys*, likewise 'Daughter of the Sun.'[16] In Greek mythology the sister of the Dioskouroi is Helen, whose very name means approximately 'divine splendor,'[17] and who, according to some reports, is also known as the daughter of Helios 'the Sun' (Ptolem., *Hist. Nov.* 189; Phot. *Bibl.*, 149a).[18]

There is a polyandrous, incestuous element present in the Vedic hymns, for the Aśvins are not only the brothers of Sūryā, but her suitors (*RV* 10.85.9), and even her joint husbands (*RV* 4.43.6; 1.119.5). Similarly, the Latvian dainas report that the Dieva dēli are the suitors of the Sun Maiden.[19] In the Vedic hymns Sūryā mounts the chariot of the twins (*RV* 1.117.13; 1.118.5; 5.73.5), and she is seen orbiting the heavens with them (*RV* 4.43.2–3; 4.44.1; 8.22.1; 10.85.10). Similarly, according to Euripides (*Hel.*, 1495) the Dioskouroi lead Helen home in a horse-drawn chariot. In the Baltic tradition the Dieva dēli take the Sun Maiden sailing in a boat at sea (358, 33732). The boat and the chariot no doubt represent different manifestations of the identical concept.

Although the polyandrous, incestuous theme is not found in the relationship of the Dioskouroi with Helen, there is evidence indicating that such a relationship once existed. The two daughters of Leukippos, Hilaeira and Phoibe, are stolen by the Dioskouroi as brides.[20] Leukippos, whose name is associated with the horse, has been considered to be identical with Helios, the Sun.[21] Therefore it is probable that the two Leukippides represent manifestations of the single figure of the Sun Maiden. The duality of the Leukippides is probably a secondary development, which occurred when the original polyandrous relationship had become distasteful or was no longer understood. Thus a second maiden was invented so that each of the Divine Twins would have his wife.[22]

The hymns of the *Rig Veda* mention another female divinity who is also associated with the Aśvins. She is *Uṣas* 'the dawn,' who corresponds both mythologically and etymologically to the Greek *Eos* (Latin *Aurora*) and possibly to the Latvian *Austra*, *Auseklis* and to the Lithuanian *Ausra*, *Ausrine*.[23] Uṣas, like Sūryā, is reported to be the sister of the Aśvins (*RV* 7.71.1) and also their beloved (*RV* 4.52.1–3). She too is seen as a passenger in the celestial chariot of the twins. Because of the striking similarity between Uṣas and Sūryā, various scholars have concluded that they represent different manifestations of the same mythological concept,[24] an argument that is difficult to prove. Even if one assumes that they were originally two distinct mythological figures, however, it is evident that the later traditions confused many of their traits and functions.

The Divine Twins and their sister may well have found their way into the Zoroastrian tradition of Iran, where the pair "Haurvatāt" and "Amaratāt" and the feminine abstraction "Armāiti" have evidently assumed the roles of the Indo-Iranian Dioscuric triad. From here the tradition spread through the Near East (Harūt and Marūt and perhaps even reached the Mediterranean area (Kabeiroi).[25]

The Horses of the Divine Twins.—In each of the Indo-European traditions, the association of the Divine Twins with the horse represents the most pronounced characteristic of the twin brethren. Moreover, the striking agreement in detail revealed by the various traditions makes it evident that this association dates back at least to the period of Indo-European unity.[26]

In the *Rig Veda* the very name of the divine pair expresses this relationship: *Aśvinā* 'owners of horses.' Similarly, the Greek Dioskouroi were called *leukópōloi* 'having white horses' (Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.66). They were also referred to as *hippótai sophoi* 'skilled riders' (Alkman, *Frgt.* 12). It is furthermore significant that the Homeric hymns (17.5; 33.18), which constitute one of the older sources for the Greek twins, have preserved the image of the Divine Twins upon steeds.

The association of the Divine Twins with horses is also confirmed by the evidence from the Baltic tradition, where there are literally scores of dainas in which the horses of the Dieva dēli are described. The horses of the twin brethren are seen outside the Sun Maiden's door (363-33801), or on the hillside eating oats (363-33769). Moreover, three golden steeds are seen accompanying the sun across the sky (394-54926).[27] Similarly, the celestial steeds draw the Aśvins in their golden sunlike chariot (*RV* 8.5.35), circling the earth and the sky in a day (*RV* 1.180.9–10). The Greek Dioskouroi are likewise seen in a chariot that flies through the air (Eur., *Hel.* 1495).

In all three traditions the celestial horses and chariots of the twins are also envisioned upon the water. One report (*RV* 1.30.18) tells of the Aśvins riding their chariot at sea. The Dioskouroi also ride the waves to lead their sister Helen home (Eur., *Hel.* 1663), and in Homeric Hymn No. 33 they appear at sea upon winged horses. This image precisely parallels the situation in the *Rig Veda* in which the chariot of the twins is envisioned as being drawn by two winged horses (*RV* 6.63.7). The two horses of the Divine Twins are also seen at sea in the Baltic sources. The steeds are adorned with golden saddles and bridles and the Sun is seen riding on the one (363–33771). Another Baltic song (359–33739) reports that the horse-drawn sledge of the twins is seen upon the waves. The Divine Twins are also seen in a seafaring boat. The Aśvins, for example, travel in a ship with a hundred oars (*RV* 1.116.5). Similarly, the Baltic Sons of God build a boat from an apple tree and take the Sun Maiden sailing (358–33732). The Greek Dioskouroi are also associated with the sea, for the twins were among the renowned Argonauts. Moreover, the Dioskouroi were also known in the Mediterranean area as the guardians of seamen. This function of the twins is discussed at greater length below.

There is evidence indicating that originally the association of the Divine Twins with the horses was of a theriomorphic nature. The Aśvins, for example, were born while their mother Saranyū had assumed the form of a mare.[28] The Theban twins, Amphion and Zethos, moreover, were called *leukṑ pṓlṓ Diós* 'white horses of Zeus' (Euripides, *Antiope* C55), which corresponds precisely to the Latvian epithet for the twins 'horses of God' (368–33797). Another daina envisions the Sun sitting upon a hill and bathing her steeds in the sea (383–33944).[29]

Dual Paternity.—In the above chapter on "Universal Dioscurism," evidence is adduced to show that the birth of twins is universally considered to be the result of dual conception, and thus twins are believed to have different fathers. This concept also plays a dominant role in the mythological traditions of the Indo-European peoples.

The Greek Divine Twins, as has been shown, were called both Dioskouroi, sons of the immortal Zeus, and Tyndaridai, sons of the mortal Tyndareos. Various scholars have assumed that one of the two father figures was the result of a secondary development. Those who have considered the divine paternity primary have attempted to prove that the name Tyndareos is an epithet for Zeus,[30] while those who have believed that the mortal father was the original figure have attempted to show that Zeus supplanted Tyndareos when the heroic twins were deified.[31] In view, however, of the evidence in chapter i which shows that twins are universally considered to have two different fathers, it is highly probable that this was also the situation in the Greek tradition. From the beginning, both Zeus and Tyndareos were the fathers of the Dioskouroi. The evidence supports this contention. Various sources state quite specifically that each of the Divine Twins was begotten by a different father. Polydeukes was fathered by Zeus, while Kastor was fathered by Tyndareos (Pindar, *Nem.* 10.150: Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.10.5–7). Furthermore, there are other Greek twins who were likewise the product of two fathers: Amphion was fathered by Zeus, while Zethos was fathered by the mortal Epopeus. Similarly, Zeus begot Herakles, while the mortal Amphitryon begot his twin brother, Iphikles.

The *Rig Veda* provides a precise parallel to the Greek tradition of the dual paternity of the Divine Twins. The Aśvins, like the Dioskouroi, are both called "Sons of God"[32]; yet they are also reported to have had two different fathers. According to *RV* 1.181.4, one of the Aśvins is the "blessed offspring of the sky," while the other is the son of the mortal Sumakha[33]; however, *RV* 10.17.2 reports that the twin brethren are the sons of Vivasvat.[34]

The evidence from the Baltic region gives no clear indication as to whether the Divine Twins originally had different fathers. Nevertheless, there is room for speculation. The Baltic songs occasionally mention other pairs of divinities who are the offspring of various fathers, for example, "the Sons of the Morning Star," "the Sons of the Moon," and "the Sons of Perkuns (Thunder)."[35] It is possible that one or more of these pairs is identical with the Dieva dēli, and that the concept of a second father led to the new designation. This would represent a parallel to the situations in Greece, where the Dioskouroi were also called the Tyndaridai, and India, where the Divó nápātā were also called the Sons of Vivasvat.

In view of the universal nature of the concept, and in view of the striking parallels in the Indo-European traditions, one can safely assume that the dual paternity dates back at least to the period of Indo-European unity. Nevertheless, there are scholars who are still attempting to attribute the dual paternity of the Greek Dioskouroi to a more recent development. For example, Hellmut Rosenfeld maintains that the report that Kastor was immortal and Polydeukes was mortal was the result of a more recent, secondary development.[36] He bases this assumption on the evidence in the *Iliad* (3, 336 ff.) which states that both Kastor and Polydeukes were the mortal brothers of Helena, and on the evidence in the *Odyssey* (11. 390 ff.) in which both brothers are reported to be the sons of Tyndareos. Rosenfeld further maintains that the heroic brothers, Kastor and Polydeukes, were confused with a "nameless" Dioscuric pair of divinities. This contamination, according to Rosenfeld, was made possible by the creation of the legend of dual paternity ("Durch die Annahme verschiedener Väter"), a development that, says Rosenfeld, placed their very twinship in question.

Rosenfeld's choice of the earlier Homeric sources as evidence that the dual paternity of the Dioskouroi was secondary is a poor one, for the Homeric hymns have called Kastor and Polydeukes both the Tyndaridai and the Dioskouroi.[37] Moreover, Rosenfeld himself concedes that the *Odyssey* already included the theme of Kastor's mortality and Polydeuke's immortality.[38] This theme has been shown to have developed as a result of the belief in the dual paternity of the twins, and has been attested to in various Indo-European Dioscuric traditions. The fact that it occurs in the Homeric sources is an indication that the dual paternity of the Greek twins is an ancient motif, and cannot have been the result of a secondary development, as Rosenfeld maintains. The weakest part of Rosenfeld's argument, however, is his contention that the theme of dual paternity places the very twinship of the Dioskouroi in question. The notion that twins have individual fathers, one of whom is frequently considered a divinity, has been shown to be a universal phenomenon. This characteristic of the Dioskouroi in no way makes their twinship doubtful. It rather confirms the fact that Kastor and Polydeukes were, from their very origin, a pair of divine twins.

It is shown in chapter i that the duality of the fathers of twins inevitably leads to the development of Dioscuric traditions in which the twins develop separate, and even opposite, characteristics. This contrast between the twins is well pronounced in the various Indo-European traditions, and is treated in greater detail in a separate section below.

Saviors at Sea.—The role of the Indo-European Divine Twins as rescuers, particularly during distress at sea, has been the object of much investigation.[39] The Vedic Aśvins bear the epithet Nāsatyā which is generally interpreted to mean 'saviors.'[40] This name corresponds to the Greek *sotēres* 'saviors,' which is recorded both as a cult name and as a literary epithet.[41]

The Aśvins are invoked to perform various rescues, and the hymns sing of their having liberated a quail from the jaws of a wolf (*RV* 1.116.14). They also free Atri from an oven (*RV* 1.117.3), and they raise Rebha from the water (*RV* 1.116.24). The rescue the Vedic hymns praise most frequently—in more than twenty verses—is that of Bhujyu, who was cast overboard by his own father, Tugra, and by other crew members.[42] The Aśvins appear "fast as thoughts" (*RV* 1.117.15) with "flying red horses" (*RV* 1.117.14) and save the would-be victim. The rescue effected by the Greek Dioskuri as praised in Homeric Hymn No. 33 is so identical in detail that a genetic relationship between the two episodes is highly probable.[43] Homer reports that the Dioskouri appear with "miraculous speed" upon horses with red, shining wings to save a ship in distress. Other Vedic hymns report that the twins rescued Bhujyu with a ship that flew through the air (*RV* 1.116.3), with a ship with a hundred oars (*RV* 1.116.5), and with a chariot drawn by birds (*RV* 1.119.4).

A Latvian daina tells of a similar episode in which the "Sons of God" row their boat to save the drowning Sun Maiden, when only her crown was visible (386–33969). In this song, it is evident that the episode has arisen from the observation of solar phenomena, and it is not improbable that such lie at the base of all rescue episodes recorded in the Indo-European traditions, as various investigators have attempted to show.[44]

Another daina reports that the Sons of God appeared on horseback to save the Sun when the chariot (sledge) overturned (381–33912). In ancient Greece there was scarcely a harbor, island, or coastline where the Dioskouroi were not honored as the saviors of seamen, and traces of this concept have persisted to modern times in the folk tradition.[45]

The Astral Nature of the Divine Twins.—The celestial nature of the twins is evident in all the Indo-European traditions. At the birth of Uṣas 'dawn,' the Aśvins hitch their steeds to the chariot (*RV* 10.39.12); or Uṣas awakens them at dawn (*RV* 8.9.17), and she accompanies them on their journey (*RV* 1.180.1; 8.5.2). The Aśvins break open the darkness, preparing the way for the day (*RV* 4.45.2). Sūryā, the Sun Maiden, mounts the celestial chariot of the Aśvins (*RV* 5.73.5) and she is seen orbiting the heavens with them (*RV* 4.44.1). Although scholars have generally agreed that they are celestial divinities, there has been little agreement as to what celestial phenomena the Divine Twins are supposed to represent. Some have seen the Aśvins as the embodiments of "rays of light which precede the dawn,"[46] "the first bringers of light,"[47] or as "the twilight."[48] Still others have considered them as the Sun and the Moon,[49] the Constellation Gemini,[50] Lightning and Thunder,[51] Heaven and Earth, Day and Night,[52] or as the "fire of heaven and of the altar."[53] V. H. Vader identifies them with the zodiacal light and its counterglow.[54] A. Berriedale Keith, on the other hand, contends that "all trace of their origin is lost."[55]

There can be little doubt that the twins are gods of light. One of the Aśvins, for example, is called *śukra-* 'shining,' while the other is called *rajata-* 'silvery' (TA 1, 10, 2). Moreover, they are also called *śubhaspati-* 'Lords of Light' (*RV* 8.22.6; 10.93.6).

Similarly, the Greek Dioskouroi were evidently celestial gods of light. Their very names reflect the quality of illumination. "Kastor" is evidently an agent noun from the root of *kékasmai*, *kekadménos* 'excel,' 'shine forth.' Polydeukes is probably dissimilated from *Poly-leukēs* (*leukós* 'white,' 'shining,' Lat. *lux*, Goth. *liuhaþ*, Armenian *lois* 'light'). There is evidence that the twins were associated with astral bodies, for the Vedic Aśvins were envisioned as two lights in the sky as they accompanied Sūryā in their chariot (*RV* 10.85.10). Various Latvian dainas attribute a similar appearance to the Sons of God. For example:

365-33776

Div' svecītes jūrā dega
Sudrabiņā luktuŗos;
Tās dedzina Dieva dēli,
Saules meitu gaidīdami.

[Two lights are burning at sea / In two silver lanterns; / They are lit by God's Sons, / While waiting for the Sun Maiden.]

The Dioskouroi of Greece were likewise envisaged as two lights at sea. Sometimes a third light, their sister Helen, was seen with them.[56]

The astral bodies most frequently associated with the Divine Twins are the two manifestations of the planet Venus, the morning and evening stars.[57] There is evidence both for and against this theory. The arguments against this astral interpretation have been best expressed by Hellmut Rosenfeld. In discussing the work of Welcker, who first attempted to link the Dioskouri and the Vedic Aśvins to the morning and evening stars, Rosenfeld pointed out that scholars working with the twin divinities followed Welcker's lead and thus attempted to equate the Latvian Sons of God with Morning Star and the Evening Star.[58] Rosenfeld contends that this association was entirely erroneous, for in the Latvian songs Morning Star and Evening Star were expressly referred to as the "Steeds of the Moon," while the Sons of God were known as the "Horses of the Sun" or "the Horses of God." Moreover, other songs treat the Morning Star as a single figure, and as the rejected suitor of the Sun Maiden. Rosenfeld points out that the morning star appears alone in the morning for half of the year, and that the evening star makes its appearance a week after the morning star disappears from the heavens, and remains nearly another half year. The morning star then reappears four weeks after the disappearance of the evening star. Rosenfeld appeals to logic and questions how such widely separated astral bodies could be conceived of as a pair of twins and as the charioteers of the sun.

> Solche "Wachablösung am Himmel," noch dazu getrennt durch vier bzw. eine Woche der Unsichtbarkeit, konnte zweifellos niemals zur Vorstellung unzertrennlicher Zwillinge und einer gemeinsam verehrten Doppelgottheit führen! Ursprünglich haben gewiss weder die griechischen noch ihre indogermanischen Verwandten irgend etwas mit den Sternen zu tun! Erst die Spätantike hat, den astrologischen Neigungen der Zeit gemäß, die Dioskuren nachträglich mit dem astralen Bereich verbunden (Sternbild der Zwillinge!). . . .[59]

Although Rosenfeld's objections appear to be justified, many of them will not withstand a closer scrutiny. For example, Rosenfeld's indignant pleas for logic in considering the morning-evening star problem appears quite valid. When dealing with ancient or primitive traditions, however, modern logic can be more a hindrance than a help, for as illogical as it may seem, there is evidence that the two apparitions of Venus are indeed associated with Divine Twins. Such was the situation among North and South American Indians.[60] While the American traditions have little bearing on the Indo-European problem, the evidence nonetheless establishes that the human imagination is capable of envisioning the two apparitions of the single astral body as a pair of twins. Indeed, Rosenfeld himself adduces evidence that confirms this contention, for when he shows that the Latvian Morning Star and Evening Star were considered as the "Moon's horses" (380-33898, 375-33854), he proves that the Baltic peoples, too, were capable of imagining the two stars as a united pair.

If Morning Star and Evening Star can be considered as the Moon's steeds, it is possible that they were also considered as solar steeds. Indeed, one daina states specifically that the same horse that bore the Moon across the heavens also bore the Sun.

394-54915

I saulīte, mēnesniņš
Jāj uz viena kumeliņa;
Jau saulīte nosegloja,
Mēnesniņš apsegloja.

[Both the Sun and the Moon / Ride on one Steed; / Already the Sun dismounted, / The Moon was ready to go.]

It should be emphasized that there are other Latvian dainas in which it is quite clear that Morning Star and Evening Star are not identified with the Dieva dēli[61]; however, the above-quoted daina, and others as well, make it evident that at one time this distinction was not known. For example, one song mentions a triad of youthful dieties, God's Son, the Morning Star, and the Sun's Helmsman, to each of whom the Daughter of God had been promised in marriage (379-33890). This daina, in which only one Son of God appears, probably represents a later period, when the original mythological polyandrous theme was no longer understood. The Divine Twins, originally joint suitors, now become rivals. The various characteristics and functions of the divinities have been assigned to each of the suitors, whose number has increased to three: the Sun's Helmsman, the Son of God, and the Morning Star.

Additional dainas likewise indicate that the Divine Twins were originally stars. For example, one song (368-33803) specifically names the steeds of the Moon (Morning Star and Evening Star) the suitors of the Sun Maiden. Since this is the precise role played by both the Dieva dēli and the Vedic Aśvins, it is quite probable that the Latvian Divine Twins were originally identified with the two stars. Moreover, there are various dainas that clearly stress the astral nature of the twins. For example:

385-33961

Saules meita jostas auda,
Mēnesī sēdēdama;
Dieva dēli klāt sēdēja
Ar sudraba luktuŗiem.

[The Sun Maiden was wearing a sash, / While sitting in the moon(light); / God's Sons were sitting there / With silver lanterns.]

Mannhardt, moreover, has called attention to an entry in the diary of Aenea Silvio, later Pope Pius II, which comments on a report made by Jerome of Prague concerning a mission to Lithuania. Jerome had told of the myth of the liberation of the Sun by the "signs of the zodiac" (Signa zodiaci deinde opem tulisse Soli ingentique malleo perfregisse turrim, Solem liberatum hominibus restituisse).[62] It is very probable that Jerome was commenting on a Dioscuric myth in which the Divine Twins liberated the Sun (Maiden). The fact that Jerome calls the liberators the "signs of the zodiac" is an indication that the Balts considered the Divine Twins astral divinities.[63]

Another convincing argument by Rosenfeld is that in Greece only the later, learned period stressed the astral nature of the twins.[64] While it is true that the astral nature of the twins was popularized during the later period, it should nevertheless be emphasized that the etymology of their names indicates that the element of brilliance was part of the nature of the twins from the beginning. This characteristic, of course, does not permit one to assume an astral origin for the divinities; however, even in the Argonaut legend, which represents an ancient tradition, Kastor and Polydeukes are associated with stars.[65]

It must be conceded that the evidence for the astral nature of the Divine Twins is not entirely conclusive. Nevertheless the cases that show an association of the various Indo-European twins with stars add up to an impressive total. In any event, it is apparent that the catasterism of the twins predates the period of "later antiquity" posited by Rosenfeld. Indeed, it can be asserted with a fair amount of certainty that the astral nature of the twins was already well established during the period of Indo-European unity. Furthermore, in spite of some evidence to the contrary, the available data speak in favor of identifying the Indo-European twins with the morning star and evening star at this early date, although the question cannot yet be considered closed.

Rosenfeld's eagerness to dispose of the astral nature of the twins was clearly motivated by a desire to support his main thesis that the Divine Twins were originally a two-horse team that drew the Sun's chariot across the heavens. Actually, the astral and theriomorphic nature of the twins need not stand in conflict. One and the same pair can certainly be envisioned as both shining stars and celestial steeds, as is actually done in one of the Latvian songs cited above. Moreover, the very name of the celestial steeds in Greece indicates such a possibility, viz., *leukṑ pṓlō leukippos*.[66]

The Twins as Magic Healers.—Countless Vedic hymns tell of the Aśvins functioning as physicians and magic healers. They are known as the physicians of the gods, who keep death away from mortals (*RV* 7.53.1), heal the sick (*RV* 8.22.10), make the blind see (*RV* 1.116.16), and cause the lame to walk (*RV* 1.112.8). In this regard they are called *Dasrā* 'Workers of Miracles.'[67] One hymn reports that the mare Viśpalā lost a foot in battle, whereupon the Aśvins appeared suddenly and replaced it with an iron foot (*RV* 1.116.15). This episode finds a parallel in ancient Greece where it is reported that Phormio, the Chrotonian strategist, was wounded in the foot during a battle with the Locrians. Suddenly the Dioskouroi appeared to effect a miraculous cure.[68] That the Greek twins were known as divine physicians is further attested to by the numerous icons depicting the twins with snakes, the traditional symbol of those who practice the healing arts.[69]

It is noteworthy that there is an abundance of information on the healing function of the Vedic Aśvins, whereas there is relatively little evidence of this trait for the Mediterranean twins and none for the Baltic Sons of God. In evaluating this evidence, or lack of evidence, the nature of the source material must be considered. The hymns of the *Samhitā* constitute essentially prayers and incantations to various divinities. Since many of these incantations invoke the Aśvins to perform various services, it is not surprising to find that the hymns praise the beneficial deeds the Aśvins have been known to perform. Although at one time, unquestionably, prayers and incantations were also addressed to both the Greek and Baltic twins, very little of this material has been preserved. Consequently, evidence of the twins performing everyday functions such as healing, promoting fertility, and the like, is far richer in the Vedic sources than in the other Indo-European traditions.[70]

Warriors and Providers of Divine Aid in Battle.—Akin to their function as saviors and helpers, the Indo-European twins are often portrayed as the providers of divine aid in battle, and they themselves are frequently considered warriors. The Vedic twins help Viśpalā in battle (*RV* 1.112.10) and Indra in his struggle against Namuci (*RV* 10.131.4–5). They protect mortals in combat (*RV* 10.143.4; 8.9.13), they grant victory in war (*RV* 8.35.12; 1.112.1). They provide aid to Trasadasyu in battle (*RV* 8.8.21). Similarly, the Greek Dioskouroi are renowned for their role as warriors. They battle with Idas and Lynkeus over cattle. They lead the storming of the fortress at Aphidnae to liberate their sister.[71] According to Pausanias (4.27.1–6), before the battle of Stenykleron a pair of handsome youths, Panormos and Gounippos, suddenly appeared amidst the Lacedaemonians at a festival for the Dioskouroi. The youths wore white tunics, purple robes, and hats, and carried spears. The Lacedaemonians, thinking the Dioskouroi themselves had appeared, bowed down and submitted to their will. Thus the youthful pair was able to rout the entire army. This report is evidently based on a Dioscuric legend, in which the epiphany of the twins signaled the defeat of the Lacedaemonian army. The story of the disguised youths no doubt developed when the belief in the epiphany of the twins faded.

A similar epiphany of two giant youths who helped rout the attacking barbarians is reported by Herodotus (8.38). Pausanias (4.16.5–9) also reports that Aristomes was foiled in his attempt to sack Sparta when he was turned back by the phantoms of Helen and the Dioskouroi. The Divine Twins also came to the aid of the Romans. During the battle of Lake Regillus, 496 B.C., the Roman ranks were about to be routed when there appeared two youthful knights of exceptional size and beauty who placed themselves at the head of the Roman troops and led the battle that put the enemy to flight (Cicero, *ND* II.2.6; III.5.11). Fifteen years after the battle a temple was erected on the site in honor of Castor.[72] A similar legend tells of the appearance of the twins in the Locrian campaign against the Chrotonians. During a battle on the Sagra River, an eagle, the messenger of Zeus, suddenly appeared above the ranks of the Locrians. On the wings of the giant bird two youths in glowing armor and purple robes sat with their snow-white steeds. After helping rout the enemy, the youths disappeared (Cicero, *ND* II.2.6; III.5.13; Justin, XX.3.4). The Roman Castores were likewise reported to have have given divine aid in the battles of Pydna and Verona.[73]

Although there is no evidence indicating that the Latvian Sons of God granted aid in battle, they are reported to have been equipped with a sword (390–34019).

Divinities of Fertility.—Many of the Vedic hymns that invoke the Aśvins praise their ability to promote fertility. They are praised for placing the germ in all female creatures (*RV* 1.157.5), and for giving fertility to the bride (*RV* 10.184.2). They give a child to the wife of the eunuch (*RV* 1.117.24), and milk to the barren cow (*RV* 1.112.3). They give virile strength to the aged man (*RV* 1.116.10; 10.39.8), a husband to the old maid (*RV* 1.117.7), and bring maidens to rejuvenated old men (*RV* 1.112.15; 1.116.10). The report that the twins spread honey about the countryside every morning (*RV* 4.45.3; 1.112.21) is evidently connected with fertility. The twins are also associated with bees and are called *madhupā* 'drinkers of honey' (*RV* 10.106.10).[74]

Evidence that the Greek Dioskouroi were divinities of fertility is relatively scant. The fact that the twins were frequently honored at great festivals and banquets, where offerings of food were made to them,[75] indicates that they may have functioned as divinities of the harvest. There are also countless reliefs and coins depicting the twins with a horn of plenty, sheaves of grain, and other agricultural products,[76] and the eggshell hats (*piloi*) of the twins are evidently fertility symbols.[77] R. Schilling has also shown that the Roman Castor was associated with the goddess of the fountains, Juturna, which indicates that he was considered a fertility divinity.[78] Furthermore, A. H. Krappe has demonstrated how Christian saints, who have assumed the roles and the functions of the Mediterranean Dioscuri, were considered the patrons of fertility.[79]

There are a number of Latvian songs in which the Sons of God are envisioned working with agricultural implements, helping to till the soil and sow the seeds, thus indicating that they functioned as divinities of the harvest and of fertility. One song, for example, reports that the twin divinities have ploughs of gold and seeds of silver:

380-33904

Sanākuši Dieva dēli,
Apaŗuši, apsējuši;
Sanesuši zelta arklus,
Sudrabiņa sētavites.

[The Sons of God arrived together, / Working, sowing seeds in all directions; / They brought ploughs of gold, / Baskets for the seeds of silver.]

Another song reports that the twins help make the beer by bringing the yeast and adding it to the mixture.[80] Like the Vedic Aśvins, the Dieva dēli are associated with the "golden dew" that covers the green meadows (380–33903). They till the soil in the forest clearing with their silver rakes (384–33954), and they are chastised for failing to harrow the silken hills and to harvest the prairies of gold (363–33756).

For Georges Dumézil and his followers, who believe in the tripartite structure of Indo-European culture, the Aśvins, with their roles as warriors, and as fertility deities—roles that evidently can be traced to a period of Indo-European unity—present a knotty problem.[81] The role of warrior clearly belongs to the second function, while that of fertility is clearly part of the third function. This apparent contradiction can be explained, however, in one of several ways. It does seem likely that the Divine Twins, who, like Christian saints, were called upon in the hour of need, and who are generally considered as saviors, would be asked to provide aid under all circumstances of distress including battle. Thus the two youths, who may have been considered primarily as divinities of fertility, could gradually have assumed the roles of handsome, knightly warriors. Another explanation has been offered by Paul Thieme, who, in a recent article, has expressed the belief that the warrior function of the Aśvins was a secondary development within Vedic religion.

> The Nasatyas appear again and again as heavenly charioteers. As such they were apt to be endowed with the qualities of those gods whose essence is victorious fight. Thus they readily come into the vicinity of Indra and Mitra.[82]

Both of the above explanations have merit, and evidence could be adduced in support of each of them. Nevertheless, the solution to the problem lies elsewhere, namely in the belief in the dual paternity of the twins—which has already been discussed—and in the resultant difference in the traits and functions of the twin divinities.

The Difference between the Divine Twins.—The above section on dual paternity points out that the Indo-European Divine Twins, indeed twin divinities in general, are widely believed to have been begotten by separate fathers. In the Indo-European tradition, the one father was invariably a mortal. As a result of this belief, one frequently encounters the notion that the twins are quite different in nature.

In Greek mythology, for example, Kastor was considered divine, and Polydeukes mortal. Kastor was the "breaker of horses," and Polydeukes "an excellent boxer" (*Il.* 3.236; *Od.* 11.298). Amphion, the son of the immortal Zeus, was the vigorous huntsman, while his brother Zethos was a docile musician.[83]

The songs of the Baltic tradition give only a relatively obscure indication of such a contrast. For example, one song reports that "the Sun rises early for the one," while God (Dievs) stands by "to help the other."[84] Another song depicts the twin divinities as two horses at sea, one with a silver saddle, the second with a golden bridle (364–33772).[85]

In the Vedic hymns the Divine Twins are generally invoked as a pair, and a contrast between the two is not immediately discernible, although one hymn reports that the twins were "born here and there" (*RV* 1.181.4), while another reports the twins to have been "born separately" (*RV* 5.73.4).

Although the Vedic hymns may not clearly indicate a contrast between the Aśvins, a recent study by Stig Wikander has demonstrated convincingly that the two divinities originally displayed a very pronounced distinction.[86] Wikander has called attention to the epic twins of the *Mahābhārata*, Nakula and Sahadeva, who are the twin sons of the Aśvins, and whose adventures clearly represent heroic euhemerizations of Dioscuric themes. The twin brethren are quite different in personality and function. Nakula, the heroic, handsome warrior, is a breaker and trainer of horses. He is also reported to have "eyes of fire" and "the shoulders of a lion." Sahadeva, on the other hand, is of a sweet, peaceful temperament and is associated with domestic duties and with the care of cattle. He is considered to be especially virtuous, modest, patient, intelligent, and just.

Wikander points out that the one twin, in his role as warrior, represents Dumézil's second function, while his brother, interested in domestic duties and animal husbandry, represents the third function. This association of each twin with a separate function was, according to Wikander, already a well-defined trait in the religion of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. This hypothesis, however, encounters difficulty, for in the *Rig Veda* the Aśvins are characterized and invoked as equals. Wikander has carefully analyzed the Vedic hymns and has uncovered a number of subtle differences between the brothers which are all variants of a sharp, fundamental distinction. For example, the traits and functions of fertility and warfare associated with the heroes Nakula and Sahadeva are not only associated with the Aśvins, but also reflected in their epithets. These epithets, although generally applied to both divinities, invariably occur in pairs, and in nearly always the same order. This recurring order, which is parallel to the order of epithets used individually for Nakula and Sahadeva, is a strong indication that originally one set of epithets belonged to the one Aśvin, and the other set belonged to the second Aśvin. Wikander further points out that in the post-Vedic texts the two Aśvins are even addressed with individual names, the one being called Nāsatya and the other, Dasra, both forms being in the singular.[87]

Wikander's conclusions are supported by the evidence in the Iranian Avesta, in which there is only the figure of a demon, named "Nāŋhāithya" (*Vidēvdāt* 10.9; 19.43). This name corresponds to the Vedic "Nāsatyā," a favorite epithet of the Aśvins. The Avesta treats this figure as malevolent, thus revealing an instance of Zoroastrian damning of an Aryan divinity. As Wikander has shown, all divinities associated with warfare and with the horse were rejected by the Zoroastrian religion.[88] Thus the one Aśvin who exhibited the more warlike nature and who was associated with horses was demoted to the role of a demon in the new religion. The second twin, the peaceful youth, who was concerned more with domestic chores and with cattle, should have found ready acceptance in the Zoroastrian pantheon. Wikander believes to have found him in the figure of Atar, son of Ahura Mazdāh.

Although this final point is not as convincing as the remainder of Wikander's arguments, the various pieces of evidence which he has assembled add up to a very impressive total and clearly indicate that the nuances of distinction between the Aśvins are all variants of a sharp, fundamental distinction.[89]

It has already been demonstrated in chapter i that the distinction between divine twins is a worldwide phenomenon, being based on the universal belief that twins are begotten by two fathers. Since this phenomenon is universal, one could justifiably question the contention that the distinction between the Aśvins represents an exclusively Indo-European trait. In the Indo-Iranian tradition, however, we are confronted not merely with a distinction between the twin deities, but with a highly specialized difference: one twin is associated with warfare, horses, and strength and represents the Indo-European second function, while the other twin, a gentle, patient being associated with domestic duties, cattle, and fertility, represents the third function. Thus the Indo-Iranian twins are a uniquely Indo-European manifestation of a universal Dioscuric trait, for, although the distinction between twin divinities is encountered everywhere, the particular kind of distinction found in the Indo-Iranian tradition is by no means worldwide in its distribution.

The evidence adduced by Wikander thus points to the obvious conclusion that this sharing of the functions by the Divine Twins was an integral part of the religion of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. This contention, which is highly probable, would be irrefutable if one could find evidence of such a distinction between other twin divinities of the Indo-European tradition. I believe that such a distinction can indeed be detected, although, as in the *Rig Veda*, the distinction is not always immediately discernible.

In Greek mythology this contrast is stressed when Pindar (*Pyth.* 5.9) uses the epithet *khrusármatos* 'in a golden chariot' to refer to Kastor alone. Moreover, Kastor was honored as the founder of the horse race, while Polydeukes was honored for having invented the hound races.[90] The dog is clearly an animal associated with house and farm, whereas the horse, especially in Greek civilization, was an animal of warfare. Thus, as in Indo-Iranian mythology, there is evidence that the one twin divinity was linked with the second function, while his brother represented the third function. An even more remarkable contrast is made by Homer (Hymn 33.3), who calls Kastor *hippódamos* 'breaker of horses,' and speaks of *amṓmēton Poludeúkea* 'the faultless (virtuous) Polydeukes.' The agreement with the Indo-Iranian tradition, in which the one twin was the "breaker of horses" and the other an especially "virtuous, patient" youth, is too striking to be mere coincidence.

A similar distinction can be detected in the Roman sources. In a recent study, R. Schilling has demonstrated that the Roman knights, whose cavalry charge at Lake Regillus in 496 B.C. saved the Roman infantry from a rout, had already worshipped Castor as a patron of their caste.[91] The reason that only one brother was worshipped, instead of both Dioscuri, is evidently that Castor alone was the warlike youth associated with the horse. His docile, virtuous brother would have been poorly suited for the needs of an elite knighthood. Further evidence of this contrast occurs in Dio Cassius (LVII, 14, 9), who reports that the younger Drusus was "so prone to anger that he even inflicted blows upon a distinguished knight and received on this account the nickname Castor."[92] This report indicates that the Romans evidently carried the contrast between the Dioskouroi to an extreme. Not only was Castor considered warlike and aggressive, but rash and hot-tempered as well. Pollux, who was unquestionably a more passive figure, and who was more involved with domestic functions, gradually faded into the background.

A noteworthy parallel to this contrast between the twins occurs in Spanish heroic tradition. Professor Samuel Armistead formerly of the University of California, Los Angeles, is currently working on the legends that treat the illegitimate birth of the Spanish hero, the Cid.[93] Armistead is able to demonstrate that at one time there were two contemporary epic traditions involving the hero's birth. According to one tradition the Cid was a twin who was conceived when a knight forced himself upon a peasant woman. The woman later lay with her husband, at which time the twin brother was conceived. The most complete evidence of this theme has been discovered by Armistead in a passage of the Second Redaction (*ca.* 1504) of the *Compendio historial*, originally written by Diego Rodríguez de Almela *ca.* 1479. The passage in question attempts to discredit the report of the Cid's illegitimate birth:[94]

> Note also inasmuch as some say that the Cid was a bastard they are mistaken about it. And the way in which those who have not read his history and chronicle say this is as follows: that is, that Don Diego Laínez, father of the Cid, before marrying Doña Teresa Nuñez, mother of the Cid, on Saint James Day in Vivar forced a peasant woman, a miller's beautiful wife, at her house and she conceived a son at that time. And the peasant, her husband, when he came home from the mill, seized her that same day and she conceived another son at that time. And when they were to be born, the knight's son was born first. And he looked like his father, very lively and full of grace; and the peasant's [son looked] like his [father], very coarse. And when both brothers were five or six years old, the knight's son made hobby-horses out of wood and lances and swords and other things pertaining to arms. And he called the young boys "knights" and ran about from one place to another and all his activities had to do with weapons and knighthood. And the peasant's son made little oxen out of clay and plows of wood. And with these things and other sticks, which he had in his hand, he would plow along the floor, saying "Gee up here!" and "Gee up there!" And those who saw them marvelled at it. Don Diego Laínez then took his son, who was called Fernán Díaz. And when he was of age to bear arms he was a good knight and very brave.

This report, it should be noted, provides a typical example of the belief in the dual paternity of twins which is discussed in detail in chapters i and ii. Especially well defined are the contrasting natures of the brothers. This contrast, which is a consequence of the dual conception, is strikingly similar to the Dioscuric contrast of the Indo-European tradition. One of the Spanish brothers is of a heroic nature from childhood on, and is interested in horses, swords, and knights, while his twin enjoys playing with toy oxen and plows. I suggest that a Dioscuric myth, possibly of Roman origin, lay at the base of this episode, and that these twins are representatives of the Indo-European second and third functions respectively.

In the following chapters, which discuss the Dioscuric traditions among Germanic peoples, further evidence is presented to show that this sharing of the functions between the Divine Twins was also present in Germanic religion.

These various bits of information regarding the character and function of the Indo-European twins when viewed singly may not appear too significant, but viewed as a whole they constitute an impressive total of evidence, showing clearly that the distinction in the function of the twins as posited by Wikander for the Indo-Iranian tradition is true for other Indo-European traditions as well. It is evident that this distinction was already well defined in the religion of the Proto-Indo-Europeans.[95]

Association of the Twins with Swans.—Since Divine Twins are generally divinities of fertility, one finds they are frequently associated with water. Therefore it is not surprising that twins often have some connection with waterfowl. Although this trait is not sufficiently widespread to be called "universal," it is by no means restricted to the Indo-European tradition.[96] Nevertheless, the association of the Indo-European twins with the swan reveals a certain agreement in detail which indicates that the twins must have shared this characteristic in the period of Indo-European unity. For example, a Vedic hymn indicates that swans were envisioned pulling the chariot of the Aśvins (*RV* 4.45.4). Moreover, there is a theriomorphic element involved, for the twins themselves were thought of as celestial birds (*RV* 4.43.3). In Greece it is reported that Zeus assumed the form of a swan when he approached Leda and begot the Dioskouroi. This association is confirmed by various monuments and other icons of Greece which depict a swan or a goose in the company of the Dioskouroi and Helen.[97] Moreover, it is reported that Kastor and Polydeukes were hatched from an egg, as was their sister, Helen.[98]

There is no evidence to indicate the Latvian Dieva dēli were associated with swans; however, some dainas revealed a theriomorphic association with other birds. For example, one daina reports that the twins soar in the air like falcons (391–34030), while another describes them as descending upon the rye fields as two black crows (385-33690).

Divinities of the Dance.—That the Divine Twins were associated with the dance even before the separation of the various Indo-European people from the original homeland has long been recognized and has been treated in detail by Leopold von Schroeder.[99] The Vedic twins were even called *Nṛtū* "dancers" (*RV* 6.63.5). Similarly, the Dioskouroi were reported to have been the inventors of the weapon dance *enóplia paígnia*, and the flute air accompanying the Spartan weapon dance was called *Kastóreion mélos.*[100] The Baltic twins were likewise described as dancers. For example:

382-33924

Saule kokles skandināja,
Austrinâi sēdēdama;
Dieva dēli danci veda
Ūdŗa, bebra kažokos.

[The Sun was playing the harp, / While sitting in the east; / God's sons were leading the dance / Clad in otter and beaver skins.]

Wilhelm Mannhardt interprets the dance as symbolizing solar phenomena,[101] and he is convincingly supported by Leopold von Schroeder.[102] Alexander Krappe, on the other hand, links the dance with the fertility function of the twins,[103] while Norbert Wagner sees the dance as indicative of the close association of the Divine Twins with youth societies.[104] There is evidence supporting each of these interpretations, and one need not preclude the others.

The Divine Twins among Mortals.—There is an apparent contradiction in the hymns of the *Rig Veda* regarding the place that the Aśvins occupy in the pantheon. In one sense they appear to be among the more important divinities, for they are invoked directly more than fifty times, and they are mentioned in countless other hymns. On the other hand, they also appear to be divinities of lesser stature, for they appear to be cut off from the other gods.[105] They are refused participation in the Soma offering, for they have wandered among men as physicians (*RV* 4.1.5; 3.124.12). In the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 7590; XII, 208) it is reported that the Aśvins have been considered Śūdras from birth. Furthermore, the gods consider them impure because of their proximity to man (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IV, 1.5.1). It has also been pointed out that the Vedic hymns generally invoke the Aśvins on a much more personal level than is customary with the other divinities.[106] Indeed one hymn (*RV* 7.72.2) states specifically that the Aśvins belong to the same sib (*bandhuḥ*) as man.[107]

A similar situation can be detected with the Greek Dioskouroi. They were clearly among the more popular of Greek divinities; yet there was no place for them on Mount Olympus. They were considered important deities: *Megáloi Theoi* (Paus., 1.31.1). Their cult had priests and priestesses (C. I. Gr. 1124, 1340, 1353), yet they were also called *ánaktes* 'lords,' and, to an even greater extent than the Aśvins, they wandered among men. They frequently visit the earth in the guise of mortals (Paus., 3.16.2–3). This belief in the epiphany of the Dioskouroi was exploited by Aristomenes in battle (Palyainos, 2.31.3–4). By disguising themselves with *poloi*, stars, spears, and white horses, Aristomenes and his friend are reported to have routed the panic-stricken Spartans, who evidently believed that the Dioskouroi themselves had appeared.

There are countless reports of places being set for the Dioskouroi at the festivals honoring them, and in some instances they are said to have attended. Pampheos, for example, is reported to have shown hospitality to the twins (Pindar, *Nem.*, 10.91) and thereafter to have enjoyed their protection.[108]

This close relationship of the Greek Dioskouroi with man, as well as the frequent epiphany of the gods, has contributed to the belief that the pair originally had little or nothing to do with the Greek pantheon.[109] It must be conceded that the evidence renders such arguments relatively convincing; however, the proximity of the Divine Twins to man can be explained without assuming a mortal origin of the gods. The solution to the problem can be found instead in the universal attitudes toward multiple births which are outlined in chapter i above. It has been shown that a pair of human twins is frequently considered divine because they are thought to be the incarnations of the mythlogical Divine Twins. Such was evidently true with certain Spartan twin kings who were considered to be the earthly representatives of the Dioskouroi.[110]

Similarly, in Rome Tiberius and the elder Drusus, as well as Germanicus and the younger Drusus, were considered to be the human incarnations of Castor and Pollux, the Roman Dioscuri.[111]

Norbert Wagner, who recently discussed the incarnation of Divine Twins, has understood the phenomenon perfectly:

> Diese religiöse Idee von den göttlichen Zwillingsbrüdern und Söhnen des Himmelsgottes, der das irdische Phänomen der Zwillingsgeburt zugrunde liegt, muss . . . der idg. Vorzeit vertraut gewesen sein. Irdische Zwillingspaare konnten den beiden gleichgesetzt und als ihre Inkarnation betrachtet werden. In ihnen wandelten sie dann leibhaftig auf Erden. Immer wieder konnten sich diese Geburten bei den idg. Einzelvölkern einstellen und örtliche und verwandtschaftliche Verknüpfungen mit den göttlichen Zwillingen herstellen. Diese Verbindungen waren es wohl auch, die verhinderten, dass sich die Zwillingsgötter völlig von der Welt der Menschen loslösten und zu ihr den gleichen Abstand wie andere Götter gewannen.[112]

One should not conclude, however, that every report of the epiphany of the twins was the result of an encounter with a pair of human twins. Nevertheless, the readiness with which peoples accepted the reports of such epiphanies can no doubt be attributed to the notion that Divine Twins were closer to man than to the gods. And this belief was based, in turn, upon the universal notion that human twins are the incarnate representatives of the Divine Twins.

The Aniconic Idols of the Twins.—According to the *Rig Veda*, the Aśvins were the possessors of two wooden poles which they rubbed together to produce fire (*RV* 10.184.3). They could also thus bring forth a pair of women, an embryo, or wealth.[113] In ancient Greece, Plutarch reports (*de frat. amore* I) that the Dioskouroi were symbolized by a pair of wooden beams, connected by a crossbeam, and called *dókana*. These, and similar symbols, are depicted frequently on coins and reliefs of Greece, often with the figures of snakes and/or stars on the beams.[114] Furthermore, certain trees have evidently served as the same kind of symbols for the twins.[115]

There is evidence indicating that the wooden beams were originally fire-making devices and the Divine Twins were the divinities of the sacred fire. As such, the twins may have been associated with the festival of the winter solstice.[116] This theory is, however, very problematical, and the possibility that the pillars were nonfunctional idols should not be discounted.[117]

In the Slavic area, there is a report from sixteenth-century Poland telling of a pair of brothers called "Lel" and "Lelpol," who were described as having been depicted upon a tree trunk. This report evidently refers to a typical Dioscuric idol.[118]

Protectors of the Oath.—There is evidence in both the Indo-Iranian and Graeco-Roman traditions that the Divine Twins were frequently invoked to witness the swearing of oaths. The Aśvins, for example, were called upon "to keep in agreement those who are joined by a treaty" (*RV* 8.35.12). Another hymn implores the Aśvins not to deliver "us to anyone who does not keep his treaty" (*RV*

1.120.8).[119] Similarly, in the famous Mitanni treaties, the Nāsatyā were among the deities who were called upon to witness the swearing of allegiance by King Mattiwaza of Mitanni to Great Suppiluliumas of the Hittites.[120] Furthermore, the attributes of the heroic twins of the *Mahābhārata* are those one would expect of divinities of the oath. One line of the epic describes Sahadeva as *cakṣuṣin-* 'clairvoyant,' and Nakula is called *mahāratha-* 'with a large chariot' (*Mhb.* VI.75.3282). Elsewhere Nakula is called *citra- yodhin-* 'talented in warfare' (I, 139.5532), while Sahadeva is virtuous and teaches justice (II, 63.2132). These qualities would be most appropriate for divinities of the oath, for one twin would be able to witness the breach of a treaty (clairvoyant) and would be able to judge (just), while the other would be well equipped to render punishment in the event an oath were broken (talented in warfare).

There is evidence that the Greek Dioskouroi were likewise called upon to witness the swearing of oaths. Güntert has pointed out that the phrase *tò siṓ* 'the two gods' were frequently used as an oath-swearing formula and soon became a popular proverbial expression. As such it is used three times in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (81, 1095, 1105).[121] One immediately thinks of a proverbial formula common in the English language today which can be traced to a later custom of swearing by the Heavenly Twins, viz., "by Jiminy" (Gemini). In Rome it was common for women to swear by Castor (*mecastor, ecastor*).[122] Moreover, Harris has demonstrated that St. Polyeucte, who had assumed many of the functions and traits of the Greek Polydeukes, was the patron saint in charge of the oath.[123]

Miscellaneous Traits and Functions.—The characteristics of the Divine Twins thus far outlined in this chapter constitute those that are most striking and show considerable agreement in the various traditions. There are, however, other traits for which the evidence is too meager to support the assumption that they can be traced to a period of Indo-European unity. For example, the Divine Twins may have been known as helpers in childbirth. An inscription in Sicily (C.I.G. It. Sic. 205) links them with "Kalligenia," the goddess of birth.[124]

Various statuary reliefs also indicate that the Dioskouroi were known to perform this function.[125] Moreover, a number of Vedic hymns suggest that the Aśvins were likewise invoked to help women at delivery (*RV* 5.78.7–9; 10.39.7).[126]

There is also evidence that the Divine Twins may traditionally have been associated with the founding of cities. The legend of the founding of Rome immediately comes to mind. The Dioskouroi were reported to have founded the city of Sparta,[127] and a legend relates that the twins Amphion and Zethos constructed the walls of Thebes.[128]

In this chapter we have so far restricted our consideration to the three main traditions of Indo-European mythology. There is, however, a limited amount of evidence indicating that other Indo-European peoples also worshipped the Divine Twins.

The Divine Twins in Celtic Tradition.—Near the beginning of the third century B.C., Timaios von Tauromenium reported the results of an Argonautic expedition to the North Sea. The report mentioned that the Celts living along the sea worshipped the Dioscuri above all other gods (Diodorus Siculus IV. 56.3–4). The report further states that the cult was introduced from "across the sea."

Although this is a striking piece of evidence, it constitutes virtually the only information available on the Celtic Divine Twins, and the validity of the report has been questioned.[129]

Emil Krüger assumes that this Dioscuric cult crossed the channel from Gaul,[130] and he suggests that the cult could ultimately be traced to Germanic peoples.[131] This problem is discussed in greater detail in following chapters.

The Divine Twins in Slavic Tradition.—The sixteenth-century chronicle *Chronika polska litewska* mentions that the Slavic peoples worshipped a pair of twins called "Lel" and "Lelpol" who were depicted on a tree trunk and were compared with the Roman Castor and Pollux. This chronicle contains the only piece of evidence on the Slavic Divine Twins;[132] however, Erwin Wienecke argues that a Germanic Dioscuric cult reported by Tacitus held its ritual in a grove that was originally in Slavic territory, and that the Germanic peoples had taken the cult and the grove from the Slavs.[133]

The Divine Twins in Finnic-Estonian Tradition.—There is evidence that the Baltic Dioscuric triad found its way into the neighboring traditions. A group of Estonian folk songs—as well as the first song of the *Kalevipoeg*—deals with the celestial wedding of the maiden Salme, whose name has been interpreted as having evolved from the Latvian *Saules meita*.[134] It has, furthermore, long been recognized that these songs treat the Indo-European theme of the celestial wedding of the Sun Maiden.[135]

In a recent study of Finnish mythology, Iivar Kemppinen has attempted to show that the famous brothers of the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen, who liberate the Sun, represent a parallel to the Indo-European Divine Twins.[136] Any resemblance between the two traditions, however, is very superficial, and if there is a relationship, it is typological rather than genetic in nature.

Conclusions.—I have presented a great deal of material in this chapter outlining the various characteristics ascribed to the Divine Twins by the Indo-European-speaking peoples. My purpose in assembling this bulk of material is twofold. First it is necessary to establish beyond reasonable doubt that there is an exclusively Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins that is more strictly defined than is the universal Dioscuric pattern. Although it is true that many of the traits and functions of the Indo-European pairs, such as dual paternity and fertility functions, are also typical of the "universal Dioscuri," the majority of the traits outlined are exclusively Indo-European. Moreover, even with regard to the universal traits, the various pairs of twins within the Indo-European tradition show an agreement in detail far too striking to be explained in terms of a universal religious phenomenon. The evidence is too overwhelming to allow more than one conclusion: The Divine Twins, sons of the Sky-God, brothers of the Sun Maiden, were well-defined deities in the Proto-Indo-European pantheon, and they were borne by the various migrating peoples to the new homelands, where the religious concept changed remarkably little through the centuries in the new environments. For those who believe that Indo-European mythology was the invention of Adalbert Kuhn and other nineteenth-century philologists, there is but one suggestion: that they evaluate the evidence concerning the Divine Twins, and then attempt to explain the striking similarities in any other way than by assuming the existence of a common religious cult dating back to the period of Indo-European unity.

My second reason for presenting this material on the Indo-European twins is equally important. Before the investigator can begin the task of identifying the Dioscuric pairs that may have occurred in Germanic religion, he must know precisely for what he is looking. Therefore it has been necessary to classify and arrange the various characteristics of the Indo-European twins so that they might be clearly defined and easily identified. This task accomplished, the main part of this investigation can now proceed in its attempt to determine to what extent the Germanic peoples once worshipped the Indo-European twins.

III

THE DIVINE TWINS IN GERMANIC MYTHOLOGY

The Indo-European Elements in Germanic Mythology.—At some period during the second millennium before Christ there began a series of changes in a branch of the Indo-European language which resulted in the eventual development of the Proto-Germanic language as a distinct entity. It is generally assumed that this development began when a group of Indo-European-speaking peoples became separated from the other groups,[1] possibly by migration. Although such an explanation appears almost self-evident, there are other, less obvious, possibilities. For example, a non-Indo-European people might have been conquered by an Indo-European tribe, or perhaps successive waves of Indo-Euroepan peoples moved into one area. Perhaps there was a mixture of various peoples and cultures. Above all, the investigator must be on guard against the temptation of assuming automatically that languages are coterminous with races, cultures, and peoples. To what degree the evolution of the Germanic language coincided with the development of a cultural and social community remains problematic. And even if one could justifiably speak of a "Germanic people" at this early date, it is far from certain that their culture was a manifestation of the Indo-European culture in the same way and degree that their language was a development of the Indo-European language.

The answers to these and similar questions can be gained only by systematic reconstructions of the histories of the peoples who spoke Indo-European languages. In view of the lack of written sources, historians are restricted to data of a different nature. Linguistic reconstructions provide information on the languages of the peoples involved, and, to a certain extent, on their cultures. Other sources of information on the cultures can be gained from archaeology,[2] comparative ethnology, and by the study of comparative religion and mythology. It is the latter field of study to which this investigation hopes to contribute.

The preceding chapter has demonstrated that there was a distinct Indo-European tradition of Divine Twins, elements of which were to be found among various speakers of the Indo-European languages. The present and succeeding chapters demonstrate that the Germanic peoples likewise knew the Divine Twins, and that this tradition was also inherited from the time of Indo-European unity. First, however, I should like to survey briefly our present state of knowledge of Indo-European elements in Germanic religion and mythology.

Of all the divinities of the Norse pantheon, there are few whose names can be linked etymologically with other deities of the Indo-European tradition. Among those so posited is the Norse *Týr*, Old High German *Ziu*, Proto-Germanic **Tiwaz*,[3] whose name is evidently a reflex of the Indo-European **deiuos*, or possibly **dieus*[4] 'the Sky.'

If one accepts the theory that Týr represents the Indo-European Sky-God, then it remains to be explained why he occupies a position of a relatively minor warrior deity in the Norse pantheon. One can conjecture that his role changed gradually over the centuries. A similar example of the demise of the Sky-God can be found in Vedic mythology, in which *Dyaus* 'the Sky' also faded from the scene. There is not a single Vedic hymn addressed to him. It is possible that in the Vedic religion, the Sky, the great creator of heaven and earth, experienced a fate similar to that of other celestial creators.[5] He withdrew in favor of other divinities with more specific, concrete functions. In other instances, however, he gradually assumed a new role. The latter evidently occurred in the Graeco-Roman tradition in which Zeus, as well as Jupiter, assumed the role of "Thunderer" in addition to the role of Sky-God. Similarly, in the Baltic area, the Lativan Sky-God *Dievs* assumed numerous secondary functions.[6] Such a change of function could explain why Týr was no longer considered a Sky-God in the Norse pantheon when the mythology was recorded.

There is evidence that the Germanic pantheon once included a Thunder-God for whom an onomastic relation to an Indo-European divinity can be posited. The Icelandic sources report that Thor had a mother named *Fjǫrgynar* (*Vǫluspa*, 56). There is also a masculine counterpart to the name, as attested to by reference to the goddess Frigg as *Fjǫrgyns maer* 'Fjörgynn's girl' (*Lokasenna*, 26). The name Fjörgynn is evidently used here as an epithet for Odinn.[7] Both the masculine and feminine forms of the name are cognate with the Lithuanian *Perkúnas*, Old Prussian *Perkunos* and Slavic *Perunŭ*, all of which mean 'Thunder(er).'[8] One can speculate that the Germanic pantheon once knew this Thunder-God, and that Thor-Donar later assumed his function.[9]

The entire discipline of comparative Indo-European mythology has been dominated in recent years by a single figure, Georges Dumézil, whose prolific production includes studies treating the myths and gods of the Germanic peoples.[10] Dumézil contends that the Germanic gods Odinn and Týr represent the sovereign first function and thus correspond to the pair Mitra-Varuna of the *Rig Veda*.[11] The first function of the Indo-European tripartite system consists, according to Dumézil, of a dual structure, and is ruled by a closely associated pair of gods. The one deity is revered for his magical manipulation of the cosmos. Odinn, who controls the magic runes, and who is known for his magical ability to paralyze his foes, is the Germanic representative of this deity, whereas Varuṇa occupies this position in the Vedic pantheon. The other half of the first function is occupied by a divinity known for his ability to control the moral order of things. This juridical aspect is occupied by Týr in the Norse pantheon and by Mitra in the *Rig Veda*. Dumézil attempts to support this hypothesis by drawing on an account in Roman history in which the pair Horatius Cocles and Mucius Scaevola respectively lost an eye and a hand. Noting that Odinn and Týr likewise lost respectively a hand and an eye, Dumézil attempted to construct a tradition of the mutilated gods of the first function, in which the duality was occupied by the *dieu borgne* and the *dieu manchot*. The late Jan de Vries has since called attention to a parallel in Celtic tradition, namely in the one-eyed figure of Lug, and the one-armed figure of Nuadu.[12]

The second function of Germanic religion is, according to Dumézil, represented by Thor, the Norse divinity of thunder and of war, who is the Germanic counterpart of the Vedic Indra. The third function of Germanic religion is represented by the Vanic deities Njördr, Freyr, and Freya. Dumézil sees a reflection of the Indo-European tripartite structure in the war of the Aesir and Vanir. The Vanir, gods of the third function, were treated with disdain by the more aristocratic gods of the first and second functions. As the Aśvins were refused participation in the Soma offering, thus were the Vanir rejected by the Aesir. Dumézil believes he has uncovered an exact parallel in Roman tradition in the legendary war between the Romans and the Sabines.[13] The Roman equivalents to the Norse Njördr and Freyr were Quirinus and Ops, a pair of euhemerized heroes who represent the original Divine Twins of Roman mythology. Dumézil's theories regarding the Divine Twins in Germanic tradition are discussed in greater detail in succeeding chapters of this investigation.

Dumézil has also written a monograph on the Norse trickster-god Loki,[14] whom he likewise equates with divinities of the Indo-European tradition. Dumézil contends that Loki represents the same Indo-European divinity as is represented by Angra Mainyu of the Avesta, and by Syrdon of Ossetic popular tradition.

In a later study, Dumézil turns to Germanic heroic tradition and posits the hero Starkadr, who appears in chapters vi–viii of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* under the name of Starcatherus, as a Germanic manifestation of the Indo-European deity of the second function, whose mythological counterparts can be detected in the Greek Hercules and the Vedic Indra.[15]

Dumézil has also noted that the Norse god Heimdallr shares certain traits and functions reminiscent of the Vedic Sky-God Dyaus; by finding some striking parallels to both the Vedic and Norse traditions in Irish folklore, Dumézil has advanced a relatively convincing hypothesis that both Heimdallr and Dyaus have developed from a single Indo-European divinity.[16]

In another investigation, Dumézil answers his critics who have rejected the tripartite interpretation of Germanic mythology.[17] Although he concedes that Eddic mythology has a tendency to conceal the first function, Dumézil insists that the *Rigsþula* offers irrefutable evidence of all three functions at work, namely in the three children of Heimdallr—Þraell, a slave; Karl, a peasant; and Jarl, an aristocrat. Here, too, Dumézil has been able to construct a convincing argument in defense of his theories.

Finally, Dumézil has seen the myth of Balder and Hödr as a Germanic treatment of an Indo-European eschatological theme in which the "peaceful god" and the "blind god" remain to rule after the destruction of the divine realm.[18] Dumézil sees parallels in the minor Vedic deities Aryaman and Bhaga, as well as in the Roman heroes Iuventas and Terminus. Dumézil also draws upon an episode in the Mahābhārata as supporting evidence. It is not necessary to outline Dumézil's relatively complex argument in defense of his theory. Suffice it to say that this is not one of the stronger studies by the distinguished scholar.

Nearly all Dumézil's theories are problematic and even controversial, and his critics are both numerous and vociferous.[19] Without becoming involved in the polemics, let it be said that few of Dumézil's findings can be accepted in toto.

Nevertheless, he has raised a number of convincing points that add up to an impressive sum of evidence and give strong support to his tripartite interpretation of Indo-European, and specifically Germanic mythology. Particularly convincing is his contention that the war of the Aesir and Vanir represents an Indo-European theme reflecting the struggle of the divinities of the third function against those of the first and second functions. Moreover, his studies involving the Vanic deities Njördr and Freyr, which are discussed in the course of this and a forthcoming chapter, represent some of the best work that Dumézil has produced.

Other scholars have likewise attempted to show that Germanic religion and mythology represented a manifestation of the Indo-European religion and mythology. H. Lindberg, for example, has attempted to prove that the Norse God Thor represented the Germanic hypostasis of an Indo-European "High God."[20]

Some of the more convincing studies of the Indo-European elements in Germanic tradition have concentrated on the heroic tradition. Such a study was published by the late Jan de Vries, who has treated the theme of the father-son struggle as it occurs in various Indo-European traditions, including the German *Lay of Hildebrand*.[21] DeVries concludes that an Indo-European myth is responsible for the theme. He also attempts to link the Nordic myth of the death of Balder to this tradition. Although he produced a fascinating hypothesis, de Vries was unable to demonstrate satisfactorily the links between the heroic and mythological traditions. If, for example, he had been able to show some convincing parallels between the myth of Balder and the *Lay of Hildebrand*, his argument would have been greatly reinforced.

Of all the attempts that have been made to link the Germanic and Indo-European traditions, the most convincing is a recent study by Stig Wikander.[22] Wikander has seized upon the accounts of the blind Danish king Harald Kampzahn, who fights his nephew Ringo. Armies from all over the North Germanic world take part in the struggle. Thanks to the prowess of the Friesian hero Ubbo, the Danes gain the upper hand. Ubbo's strength is superhuman, and he slays all opponents in hand-to-hand combat. Finally, the harassed enemies surround Ubbo and shoot him with 144 arrows. Later the blind Harald, touring the battlefield in a chariot, is slain with his own hammer by his charioteer, who is actually Odinn in disguise. Wikander has recognized some striking parallels to this episode in the great Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata*. The leader of the Kaurava armies is Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who, like Harald, is blind. Fighting for him is the superhuman Bhīṣma, who, like Ubbo, cannot be defeated in hand-to-hand combat. Eventually, the enemy surrounds Bhīṣma, and he is likewise slain by countless arrows. Later, the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra tours the battlefield in his chariot.

The agreement between the two episodes is so striking that a genetic relationship is highly probable.[23] There are several possible explanations for such a relationship. One can assume that the material spread by diffusion from India to Scandinavia; however, the Kampzahn legend is so deeply rooted in the Scandinavian tradition that it is unquestionably very ancient, and it is highly improbable that such a theme could have diffused across the distance between two such widely separated areas at so early a period through oral tradition.[24] A far more likely explanation is that the theme was originally part of an Indo-European myth,

borne across the continent by migrating peoples, and independently euhemerized in both Scandinavia and India. A previous study by Wikander, in which he convincingly demonstrated that the *Mahābhārata* was euhemerized mythology,[25] lends considerable support to this hypothesis.

The results of Wikander's study are of great importance not only for the study of Germanic religion and mythology, but for the study of epic and heroic traditions, and also for the study of history; for it is now established with relative certainty that at least a part of the mythology of the Germanic peoples was essentially an Indo-European mythology. Wikander's findings also show that mythological traditions were euhemerized and that they became a part of the heroic tradition, not only in India, but among Germanic peoples as well.

Although Wikander's findings are very convincing, an important question remains unanswered. If Germanic mythology owes its existence to a common Indo-European mythology, in much the same way the Germanic languages owe their existence to an Indo-European language, why are there so few clearly identifiable Indo-European divinities and mythological elements in the material that has been preserved in the Eddas? It is true that Dumézil's brilliant scholarship has unquestionably uncovered links between Germanic mythology and other Indo-European traditions; however, the fact that it requires "brilliant scholarship" to locate these parallels is significant. Few of the Indo-European elements in Germanic mythology are in themselves evident. The answers to the question are many. The cultures that have produced the various mythologies have certainly not remained static. They have undergone changes resulting from internal organic growth as well as from external influences. These changes have necessarily exerted an influence on the respective religions and mythologies. Moreover, the source material available for the mythologies of the various Indo-European-speaking peoples is, at best, fragmentary. These facts make it impossible for one to reconstruct the Proto-Indo-European religion and mythology with the same certainty as the linguist can reconstruct the proto-form of the Indo-European language. Perhaps most important, however, is the nature of the Eddic source material itself.

When dealing with the mythology of the Eddas, one must bear in mind that this material has been preserved in a relatively late literary tradition, which was the product of a sophisticated and essentially Christianized culture.[26] Moreover, since the settlers of Iceland came from a relatively limited sector of the Germanic world, namely from Denmark and the coast of Norway, the traditions they brought with them can scarcely be considered representative of the entire North Germanic area, much less of the Germanic area as a whole. Furthermore, since many of the settlers came to Iceland via England, Ireland, and the Shetland Isles, it is highly probable that new themes and motifs were added as a result of these contacts. Other intrusive elements, including items of Christian provenience, were no doubt introduced into the Norse tradition by later settlers, travelers, and missionaries.

All these facts have a significant bearing on the Icelandic source material, and they must be given adequate consideration in any study involving Norse mythology.

The Divine Twins in Norse Mythology.—Among the more exhaustive attempts to locate the Indo-European Divine Twins in the pantheon of Nordic gods is a

recent study by Karl Schneider, who has posited the figures of Balder and Freyr as the Germanic Dioscuri.[27] Schneider supports his contention with evidence demonstrating that the traits and functions of the two gods are identical with those of other Indo-European Divine Twins. According to Schneider's etymology, the names *Freyr*, Proto-Germanic **frawjaz* 'lord' and *Balder*, OE *Bealder* 'lord,' correspond in meaning to the Greek epithet for the Dioskouroi, *ánaktes*, which likewise means 'lords,'[28] Schneider also adduces evidence to show that both divinities were known as the helpers of the gods, that each was associated with fertility, ships, and horses, and that each was evidently a divinity of light. Schneider has also attempted to prove that *Phol* of the Second Merseburg Incantation ("Phol ende Uuodan uuorun zi holza," etc.) meant 'foal' and represented Balder. A theriomorphic association of Balder with the horse would thus be established, and this association would represent a parallel to the Greek *leukṓ pṓlō*, an epithet of the Dioskouroi.

Although much of Schneider's evidence is relatively convincing, the fact remains that Balder and Freyr are never associated as a pair in Norse mythology. For the sake of argument, one might conjecture that the original relationship between the pair had been forgotten by the time the mythology was recorded; however, even in the Merseburg Incantation, which probably represents a much older tradition than Eddic mythology, Phol is without a Dioscuric counterpart. Schneider attempted to surmount this obstacle by some bold assumptions. For example, he attempted to bring Balder and Freyr together in the same lay by assuming that the name *Skirnr*, of the *Skirnismál*, was an epithet for Balder. In this lay, Skirnr, a friend of the god Freyr, plays the role of a deputized suitor for the hand of the lovely Gerdr. Although Schneider offers no tangible evidence to show that Skirnr and Balder are identical, the evidence he adduces to show that the *Skirnismál* is the survival of an ancient Dioscuric myth is relatively convincing.[29]

In addition to the *Skirnismál*, Schneider has also posited the *Lay of Svipdagr* as a manifestation of an Indo-European Dioscuric myth. Although some parallels with the Indo-European tradition unquestionably exist, the similarity is not sufficiently striking to warrant the conclusions that Schneider has drawn. Thus the question whether the *Lay of Svipdagr* represents a Dioscuric myth must remain open until new evidence can be adduced.

In summarizing Schneider's findings, it can be said that he has proven unquestionably that Balder and Freyr fulfill many of the same functions as the Indo-European Divine Twins. This evidence, however, does not in itself permit one to assume that the two divinities represent a Dioscuric pair. On the other hand, Schneider's investigation regarding the *Skirnismál* supports his contention that the Divine Twins were once a part of the Germanic pantheon.

A very fruitful, if not entirely convincing, attempt to locate the Divine Twins among Norse deities was made by Magnus Olsen.[30] By investigating place-names reflecting the names of divinities, the author discovered an evident association between the gods Ullr and Freyr. Assuming these locations represented cult sites, Olsen has shown that in a number of instances the two deities had neighboring sites, thus indicating that they were worshipped as a pair. Realizing that any findings based on place-names alone are highly speculative, Olsen attempted to reinforce his contention with additional data. The location in which the alleged

Dioscuric cult sites are found can be associated with the Haddingjar dynasty. Moreover, various place-names reflecting the names *lýgi-*, *elgjar-*, and *elgi-* are also found in the area. Olsen links these names with evidence from the continent, where there are reports of a tribe called Lugier, a divine-priestly Vandalic dynasty called the Asdingi, and a pair of divinities called Alcis. Olsen links each of these names with the Norwegian place-names.[31] He thus assumes a Scandinavian origin for the continental Dioscuric cults.

Among the Norse pairs most frequently posited as the Divine Twins are Balder and Hödr, and one of the more convincing arguments for this hypothesis was put forward by Viktor Rydberg,[32] who saw in Saxo's treatment the form that best represented the Dioscuric tradition. In this euhemerized treatment, the two brothers become rivals for the hand of Nanna, who is supposed to represent the third member of a Dioscuric triad. However convincing Rydberg's study may be, it must nevertheless be stressed that the traditions involving the rivalry of a pair of brothers over one girl are so widespread that one can scarcely use such a story as evidence of an Indo-European mythological theme. Furthermore, although the theme of Dioscuric rivalry is almost universal, there is little or no evidence for association of this theme with the various Divine Twins of the Indo-European tradition.

A somewhat less convincing attempt to link the Balder myth with the Indo-European Dioscuric tradition was made by Felix Niedner, who saw a Dioscuric myth in the episode of Herebeald and Hædcyn in *Beowulf*.[33] Niedner believed that he had discovered the identical theme in the myth of Balder's death, and he attempted to reconstruct an Indo-European myth in which appear the single "Dioscure of the Morning," as represented by Hædcyn, the Norse Hödr, the Vedic Yama, and the Greek Lynkeus, and the pair of "Evening Dioscuri," as represented by the Norse Balder and Vali, the Greek Kastor and Polydeukes, and by Beawa and Herebeald of *Beowulf*. In the Indo-European myth the single "Morning Dioscure," i.e., light, slays one of the "Evening Dioscuri," i.e., darkness. The Greek myth of the slaying of Kastor by Lynkeus, as well as the slaying of Balder by Hödr, represented different reflexes of the same myth. Niedner's entire argument unfortunately becomes lost in a sea of conjecture and solar interpretations of the myths.[34]

Georges Dumézil has argued convincingly that the Vanic divinities, Njördr, Freyr, and Freya, represented an Indo-European Dioscuric triad.[35] As divinities of fertility and abundance (third function), they had difficulty gaining acceptance into the realm of the Aesir. Dumézil shows a striking parallel with the Vedic Aśvins, who likewise, as gods of fertility and of the herdsmen and masses, were not permitted to join with the other gods in the Soma sacrifice. The difficulty most apparent with this theory is that Njördr is generally considered the father of Freyr and Freya and not their brother; however, as Dumézil points out, there is evidence indicating that Njördr and Freyr were indeed once thought of as a pair. Elias Wessén, for example, has shown where a Skaldic poet has used both names with the singular form of the verb "to have" (hefr).[36] Moreover, it is reported that the Norse Ynglingar considered themselves to be the descendants of Njördr and Freyr.

A thorough search of the source material reveals numerous similar instances

in which Njördr and Freyr either appear together or are invoked as a pair. For example, when Sigurðr Hlaðajarl conducted the great offering in Trondheim (*Hreimskringla Saga Hákonar góða*, 14), the first drink was consecrated to Odinn, and the next to Njördr and Freyr. Moreover, in the following Skaldic verse from chapter lvi ("The Taking of a Wife by Egil") of *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar;* the two divinities are invoked together.[37]

28. Svá skyldi goð gjalda,
gram reke bǫnd af lǫndom
(reið sé rǫgn ok óðenn)
rán míns féar hánom.
fólkmýge lát flýja
(freyr ok njǫrðr) af jǫrðom
leiðesk loðða stríðe
landáss (þanns vé grandar).

[May the gods drive the king out of the land, in such fashion shall the gods repay him for the theft of my property; may the gods and Odinn be wroth. Protective deity of the land, make the tyrant flee; may Freyr and Njördr hate the oppressor of his people, he who has violated the sanctuary.]

Freyr and Njördr are thus invoked as a pair to persecute those guilty of wrongdoings. This role of the gods is reminiscent of the trait associated with the Vedic Aśvins, i.e., lovers of justice. This association of the Norse pair with justice is confirmed by the Icelandic oath (*Ulfjutvecht*, 933) in which Freyr and Njördr are invoked as divine witnesses: *Hjálpi mér svá Freyr ok Njǫrðr ok áss inn almáttki* 'So help me Freyr and Njördr and [the] omnipotent god [Thor?].' As has been documented in chapter ii, the various pairs of Divine Twins in the Indo-European tradition were invoked to witness the swearing of oaths, indicating that this was an important function of the Indo-European Divine Twins.[38] This evidence supports the contention that the two Norse deities represent a Dioscuric pair.

Further confirmation of their Dioscuric nature may be seen in the occurrence of the name Njördr in the plural: *hjor-Niðir* 'Njördrs of the sword.'[39] This plural form could represent an important instance of "devatā-dvandva" in elliptic form, analogous to Vedic *Mitrau* for Mitra and Varuna, and to the Latin *Castores* for Castor and Pollux. It is such internal evidence that speaks most strongly in favor of identifying the pair Njördr and Freyr with the Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins.

When viewed as a whole, these isolated instances in which Njördr and Freyr are considered a Divine pair add up to an impressive sum of evidence.[40] On the other hand, it must be stressed that Eddic mythology offers little to confirm the Dioscuric relationship of the two gods. One should bear in mind, however, that the Eddas do not always constitute a full and reliable source, and one should evaluate all the source material available. Therefore the material from the Skaldic verse, and from the oath formulae, may represent a more reliable fund of data than the mythology of the Eddas.

It should also be stressed that the Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins emphasizes the individuality of each of the divinities. Indeed, it has been demonstrated in chapter ii that a definite contrast between the pair belonged to the tradition from the beginning. Thus one can conjecture that this contrast might

have been responsible for a gradual separation of the pair, culminating in Eddic mythology where they were no longer considered twin brethren.

Although the Eddas do not emphasize the Dioscuric relationship between Njördr and Freyr, Dumézil has demonstrated that the euhemerized mythology of Saxo Grammaticus provides evidence that these divinities can indeed be equated with the Indo-European Divine Twins. A detailed presentation of Dumézil's hypothesis appears in the discussion of the *Haddingjar* tradition in chapter vii.

Hans Naumann, in a recent study devoted to the Divine Twins,[41] concludes that the Germanic pantheon has had various Dioscuric pairs. Among them were Vili and Vé. Originally Wotan-Odinn was their equal; however, he was later elevated high above his two brothers and even lost the initial alliterative consonant of his name. The episode in which the brothers take Odinn's wife, Frigg (*Lokasenna*, 26), is, according to Naumann, a Dioscuric myth. The fact that neither Vili nor Vé appears without the other is, as Naumann contends, further evidence of their Dioscuric character. Naumann also posits several other pairs of divinities as evidence of a Germanic Dioscuric tradition, and he points out that it is precisely these gods who are to rule in the new age after Ragnarök: Balder/Hödr, Vidar/Vali, Modi/Magni, and the two unnamed sons of Vili and Vé.[42]

Although there is considerable evidence in support of the hypothesis that Njördr and Freyr represent the Germanic Divine Twins, it must nevertheless be conceded that there are various pairs of divinities for whom one can likewise construct a strong argument in support of their Dioscuric nature. The problem is thus compounded by the fact that there are evidently a number of Dioscuric deities in the Norse pantheon; yet there is not one clearly discernible pair that forms a precise parallel to the twin brethren in the Indo-European tradition.

If the Germanic peoples did know the Indo-European twins, it would seem that the concept had faded to a somewhat unrecognizable pattern by the time their mythology was recorded. It is possible that each of the various pairs of gods represents a hypostasis of an original Dioscuric pair. As the belief faded, the roles and functions of this pair may have splintered in many directions. Indeed, a close look at the Nordic source material reveals a number of fragmentary passages that may represent isolated survivals of what was once a Germanic Dioscuric tradition. For example, in stanzas 11–14 of the *Vafþrúðnismál* the giant Vafþrúðnir asks Odinn:[43]

hvé sá hestr heitir, er hverian dregr
dag of drótmǫgo?

[What is the name of the horse who rides above men during the day?]

Odinn answers:

Skinfaxi heitir, er inn skíra dregr
dag um drótmǫgo?
. . . ey lýsir mǫn af mari

[It is Skinfaxi who moves through the daylight sky above the realm of man, . . . and his mane is always glowing]

Once again Vafþrúðnir asks:

hvé sá jór heitir, er austan dregr
nótt of nýt regin?

[What is the name of the horse that rides from the east across the sky at night above the benevolent gods?]

Odinn answers:

Hrímfaxi heitir, er hveria dregr
nótt of nýt regin;
méldropa fellir hann morgin hverm;
þaðan kømr dǫgg um dala

[It is Hrimfaxi who nightly rides above the benevolent gods. He drops foam from his mouth, whence the morning dew comes into the valleys.]

The names of the celestial steeds reveal a possible astral origin: *Skinfaxi* 'brilliant mane,' and *Hrímfaxi* 'hoar frost mane.' The former, who leads the breaking daylight across the sky, may well represent the morning star, while the latter, who brings forth the night, probably represents the evening star. The difference in describing each phenomenon of brilliance represents an almost precise parallel to the descriptions of the Aśvins, one of whom is called *śukra-* 'shining' while the other is called *rajata-* 'silvery.'[44] Moreover, the fact that the one horse spreads the morning dew over the valleys is reminiscent of the Vedic verses which report that the Aśvins spread honey over the countryside (*RV* 1.157.4). The same horses are also mentioned in the *Gylfaginning*, 10, where they appear with chariots and even charioteers. *Dagr*, 'Day' guides the chariot drawn by *Skinfaxi*, while *Nótt*, 'Night' is in the chariot drawn by Hrímfaxi. Each circles the earth and sky in a twelve-hour orbit. This celestial journey is reminiscent of the Vedic twin charioteers, who likewise circle heaven and earth in their heavenly orbit.

The pair of solar steeds in the *Grimnismál*, 37, may well constitute a different manifestation of the same theriomorphic concept. One is called *Arvakr* 'Early awake,' and the other *Alsviðr* 'All-knowing.' They are seen drawing the sun across the heavens in a golden chariot. The names of these steeds warrant special attention. It is apparent that each of them is marked by a distinctive trait. In the discussion in the previous chapter of the separate functions of the Indo-European Divine Twins, it was demonstrated that, from their beginning, one twin was of an aggressive, warlike nature, while his brother was known for being exceptionally wise, docile, and just. The names of these Germanic solar steeds evidently reflect this same fundamental distinction. The aggressive member of the divine pair, toward whom people no doubt looked for protection, could perform his function best if he were "early awake." His wise, just brother, who was called upon to witness the swearing of oaths and to judge in legal disputes, could perform these duties best if he were "all-knowing."

In other sources instead of a pair of solar steeds, there is a single elk seen traveling across the sky (*Solarjóþ* 55). But here too a Dioscuric element is discernible, for it is reported that the animal is led on its reins by a "youthful pair."

In addition to these reports, one encounters other isolated passages in the Eddas which appear to represent survivals of ancient incantations addressed to the Germanic Divine Twins. One such passage occurs in the third stanza of the *Sigrdrífomál* in which the Valkyrie is awakened from her sleep and exclaims:

"Heill dagr! Heilir dags synir!
Heil nótt ok nipt!
Óreiðom augom Lítið okkr þinig,
ok gifið sitiondom sigr!"

["Hail Day! Hail Sons of Day! / Hail Night and her Daughter! / Look upon us with calm eyes, / And send victory to those sitting here!"]

This passage, which in no way contributes to the plot, is obviously a formalized prayer. It is addressed to the "Sons of Day" and to the "Daughter of Night." If Hellmut Rosenfeld is correct in his contention that *Dagr* represents a kind of taboo name for the Germanic god **tiwaz*, then the above prayer is addressed to the Sons of Teiwaz, who in turn would, as "Sons of the Sky," be exact mythological, as well as etymological, parallels to the Vedic *divó nápātā*, the Greek *Dioskouroi*, and to the Latvian *Dieva dēli*. Furthermore, the "Daughter of Night" could represent the dawn; she would thus be the approximate equivalent to the Vedic *Uṣas*.[45] The fact that the prayer invokes the divinities to grant victory is further evidence that it is addressed to a Dioscuric triad. It has already been indicated that the granting of aid in battle is one of the more pronounced of the functions of the Indo-European Divine Twins. Of importance also is the fact that the prayer is recited upon awakening, indicating that it is a morning prayer, traditionally uttered at dawn, when, in Indo-European tradition, the Divine Twins are envisioned leading the Sun Maiden (or the Dawn) across the heavens in their chariot.

Another striking passage, which may likewise be the survival of ancient Germanic cult poetry, occurs in the *Atlamál en Groenlenzko* 'The Greenland Lay of Atli.' Here Guthrun is speaking of herself and her two brothers, Gunnar and Hogni:

98 Þriú vórom systkin, þóttom óvægin,
fórom af landi, fylgðom Sigurði;
skaeva vér léton, skipi hvert várt stýrði
ǫrkoðom at auðno, unz vér austr kvómom.
99 Konung drápom fyrstan, kurom land þaðra,
hersar oss á hǫnd gengo; hraezlo þat vissi;
vógom ór skógi, þanns vildom syknan,
settom þann saelan, er sér ne áttit.

[We were three siblings, we fancied ourselves headstrong. / We sailed on, steering our ships, following Sigurd; / We took whatever course the fates decided, until we came to the east. // First we slew the king, we seized the land, / The local chiefs submitted to us; such was their fear. / We made those wealthy who were without means.]

This passage contains many of the traits and functions that are typical of the Indo-European Dioscuric tradition: Two youths and their sister guide their ships at sea, they grant victory in battle, they liberate captives, and they grant wealth to the poor. Since this passage contributes very little to the plot of the lay in which it appears, and since it stresses the roles and functions of Dioscuric divinities, it is probable that the lines represent the survival of a highly formalized piece of cult poetry, which has been crystalized in the heroic lay.[46] Furthermore, it will become apparent in the course of this study that there are other traditions involving Guthrun and her sons and/or brothers which can be associated with Dioscuric themes.

Finally, there are two stanzas from the Eddic *Reginsmál* which apparently point to the epiphany of a pair of twins. When asked what are the auspicious signs for battle, Hnikar replies:

20 Mǫrg ero góð, ef gumar vissi,
heill at sverða svipon
dyggia fylgio hygg ec ins dǫcqva vera
at hrottameiði hrafns.
21 Þat er annat, ef þú ert út um kominn
oc ert á braut búinn:
tvá þú lítr á tái standa
hróðrfúsa hali.

[Many are the signs, if men but knew, / That are good for the swinging of swords; / It is well, I think, if the warrior meets / A black raven on his road. // Another is when you have come out, / And are ready to depart, / To behold on the road / Two warriors greedy of fame.]

The preceding chapter cited various Indo-European traditions in which the appearance of the Dioscuri before battle was a sure sign of victory. The above lines, which report that the appearance of the two warriors is a good sign for "the swinging of swords," is probably a parallel to those instances. It is thus possible that these lines represent an Indo-European Dioscuric belief that had survived in Germanic tradition.

The bits of evidence presented thus far, although fragmentary, build a rather impressive case for the theory that Germanic peoples did indeed worship various pairs of twin divinities. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Norse pantheon does not have a single pair of divinities that fit the pattern of the Indo-European twins as well as do the twins of the Vedic, Baltic, and Greek pantheons. This absence of a well-defined Dioscuric pair from the pantheon of Nordic gods, combined with the fragmentary nature of the remaining Dioscuric evidence, could well lead the investigator to believe that the Divine Twins played only a peripheral role in Germanic religion, and/or that their presence is the result of instrusions from other religions. Fortunately Tacitus in his *Germania* has preserved evidence indicating that in the religion of at least one Germanic people the Divine Twins played a dominant role.

IV

THE "ALCIS" OF TACITUS' *GERMANIA*

THE MONUMENTAL work of Cornelius Tacitus, *Germania*, which appeared in A.D. 98, is the most complete report of its time on the life and culture of the Germanic peoples who lived to the north of the Roman Empire. In chapter 43 the author included a report of a religious service conducted by one of the Germanic peoples, whom Tacitus names the *Nahanarvali:*

apud Naharvalos [var. Nahanarvalos] antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur; praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea vis numini, nomen Alcis; nulla simulacra nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur.

[Among the Naharvali there is a grove with an ancient religious service, presided over by a priest, adorned as a female. The divinities, however are reminiscent of Castor and Pollux according to Roman interpretation, whom they resemble in their powers. They bear the name Alcis. No images, no trace of foreign influence; yet they are honored as brothers and as youths.]

The sanctuary is generally believed to be located at Mount Zobten in Silesia, and the Naharvali are believed to have been a Vandalic tribe.[1]

Precisely what the author meant by *muliebri ornatu* 'adorned as a female' has been the object of much controversy. Müllenhoff has posited a far-reaching hypothetical Dioscuric tradition by assuming the words to mean "a priest with a feminine hair-do."[2] On the basis of this interpretation, he associates the twin cult with the Vandalic royal dynasty, the *(H)asdingi*, which later became the name of an entire people, and, according to Müllenhoff, meant 'those with a feminine hair-do.' (E.g., ON *haddr*, Goth. **hazds*, and OHG *hart*, all of which mean 'hair.') He then links the whole tradition with the German heroic pair, the *Hartungen*, and with the Norse *Haddingjar*. Müllenhoff has been supported in his hypothesis by R. Much,[3] A. H. Krappe,[4] and by G. Dumézil.[5] The last-named scholar has seen the role of the femininely attired priest as a typical aspect of the divinities of the Indo-European third function, and has adduced new evidence linking the Norse Haddingjar to this tradition.[6] The entire hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the flowing manes of horses were evidently associated with divine brothers.[7] The major difficulty encountered by this hypothesis is that it depends heavily upon the interpretation of *muliebri ornatu* as 'with a feminine hair-do,' a reading that is not fully convincing.[8]

Some investigators have contended that the priest represented the Indo-European Sun Maiden,[9] which is not improbable, but difficult to establish with any degree of certainty. Others have tried to link the priestess with an Indo-European fire cult, which was traditionally in the care of a female divinity, and which has also been associated with the Divine Twins.[10] Still others have interpreted *muliebri ornatu* as indicating a feminine headdress, and various parallels have been cited.[11]

All of the interpretations claim a certain credibility and even probability; however, none is entirely convincing. The investigator must simply become reconciled to the fact that the source material is too meager for one to draw far-reaching conclusions. In view of various uncertainties, the question must remain open until further evidence is uncovered.

Another word that has been the object of much controversy is the name given the pair: *Alcis*. The form that immediately comes to mind is the similar-sounding *alces* 'elks,' which has been recorded by Julius Caesar, and is cognate with ON *elgr*, OHG *elaho*, OS *eolh*. Hellmut Rosenfeld has shown that the moose and the elk have occupied the same high place in the religions of Germanic peoples as the horse enjoyed among other Indo-European-speaking peoples.[12] Moreover, reports of a solar stag in Norse mythology may support this interpretation.[13]

J. Bing has weighed the possibility of a Germanic **halkiz*, corresponding to ON *hǫlkvir*, a circumscription for *'horse.'*[14] This association with the horse would thus represent a clear parallel to the Indo-European tradition, and the name *Alcis* would be the equivalent of the Vedic *Aśvins* 'owners of horses.' K. F. Johansson attained a similar result by a different etymology. He interpreted the word as the short form for *alḱi ęḱwa*, and thus tried to demonstrate an onomastic relationship with the Greek *Alkippos; Alkippē*,[15] a highly speculative assumption. A. H. Krappe has attempted to associate *Alcis* with Sanskrit *ṛc-*'to shine forth,' IE **alk-*.[16] The Germanic twins would thus be divinities of light, as were other Dioscuric divinities of the Indo-European tradition.

Although no single etymology has proven entirely convincing, the one that has attracted the most spokesmen[17] finds cognates in the Greek *alalkein* 'to ward off,' *alkḗ* 'strength,' OS *ealgian* 'protect,' 'defend,' OS *ealh*, Goth. *alhs*, OHG *alah* 'temple,'[18] Lith. *elkas*, 'sacred grove,' Latv. *èlks* 'idol,' 'graven image.'[19]

The above forms tend to fall into two distinct groups. The one group stresses the meaning 'to protect,' 'fend off,' and the like. The *Alcis* would thus be interpreted as guardian divinities much like the Greek *Sōtêres* and the Vedic *Nāsatyā*. The other group stresses the meaning 'temple,' 'grove,' 'tree,' and the like. It is not difficult to understand how both meanings might have developed from a common root, and there is no need here to ascertain the original meaning.[20] It is important, however, to determine which of the meanings were in effect among the Naharvali of Tacitus' report. Jacob Grimm was the first to see the relationship with Gothic *alhs*, and he weighed the possibility that Tacitus may have confused the name of the gods with that of their sanctuary, or perhaps with a sacred tree.[21] Following this lead, Meringer has speculated that *Alcis* meant the wooden idols that might have occupied the center of the grove.[22] These aniconic idols would be reminiscent of the Greek *dókana*. One might raise an objection to this interpretation because Tacitus explicitly wrote that the ceremony featured no idols.[23] It is curious that Tacitus should reiterate this, when he previously (chap. 9) had stated that the Germanic peoples made no images of their gods. If this fact were already established, why then would he here stress *nulla simulacra?* The answer perhaps is that these words do not mean so much 'no idols' or 'no shrines' as they do 'likenesses,' i.e., 'portraits' of the brothers. One can conjecture that if the informant had witnessed a ceremony in which a priest stood before two wooden beams called

Alcis, the informant might well have made special note that the pillars were not carved likenesses of the gods (*nulla simulacra*), but aniconic wooden idols. Tacitus, renowned for his brief, telescopic style, may well have assumed that *nulla simulacra* was explicit enough. Supporting this is an archaeological find in Jutland of several stone altars; on the surface of the largest one are two stumps of wood, which have been interpreted as the remains (feet) of a large wooden idol.[24] It is more probable, however, that these stumps were the remains of Dioscuric symbols, that is, aniconic wooden pillars.[25]

There is further evidence of the worship of wooden beams by a Germanic people. Dio Cassius (71, 12) reports that a people called the *(H)asdingi* were led by a pair of brothers named *Raos* and *Raptos*. The names have been interpreted as meaning 'pole,' Lat. *rahus, raho*, and 'wooden pillar,' ON *raptr*, Engl. *rafter*.[26] These two figures evidently represent the heroic euhemerizations of the Germanic Divine Twins. Their names represent convincing evidence that these twins were worshipped as two wooden beams, much as the *dókana* served as the idols of the Greek Dioskouroi.

It has been conjectured that these wooden beams were fire-making implements and the ceremony described in Tacitus was the fire-renewal ceremony of a sun cult.[27] That such a ceremony was known to Germanic peoples is attested to by a church document from the year 742 in which the heathen custom of lighting fires is attacked.[28] Moreover, there is evidence that such fire-lighting ceremonies had to be carried out by a pair of twins.[29] One difficulty with this theory, however, is that Tacitus' informant would no doubt have mentioned such a ritual had it taken place, for it is evident that a fire-making ceremony would not escape the attention of the most casual observer. Moreover, there is ample evidence that Germanic peoples worshipped wooden pillars that were not fire-making devices. Recently in the marshland of Holstein two wooden beams were found side by side with likenesses of human figures carved roughly in the wood.[30] One is immediately reminded of stanza 49 of the *Havamál*:

I gave my cloak
To two wooden men
Standing out upon the heath;
When they had the rags
They appeared to come to life:
Shameful is the naked man.

It is apparent that the two wooden figures upon the heath represent religious artifacts, the significance of which the narrator himself does not fully comprehend.

Additional evidence of the worship of wooden pillars has been found in Lower Saxony, where archaeologists have found the remains of thatched-roof structures dating from the eighth century A.D. which were so constructed that there were two wooden pillars beneath the gables. The only evident function of these poles is reinforcement of the ridge ends of the roof, and it is generally considered that their primary function was a religious one.[31] When economic factors forced changes in the structure of these houses, these pillars disappeared; however, their religious function survived in items such as horses' heads and swans adorning the gables of Saxon structures. Since these items are typical Dioscuric symbols, it seems

highly probable that the pillars were originally idols honoring the Divine Twins. This assumption is supported by the fact that in several Saxon villages the horses adorning the gables were given the names *Hengst* and *Hors*,[32] each of which simply means 'horse.' These were also the names of the famed Anglo-Saxon brethren, who, according to legend, led the invasions of Britain, and who are unquestionably heroic manifestations of the Divine Twins.[33]

It must be stressed that because of the rapid decomposition of wood, one would not expect to find a great deal of archaeological evidence of wooden idols. The fact that as much has been discovered as has been cited above indicates that the worship of the wooden idols was common to various Germanic peoples, and that the Alcis of Tacitus may well have been the names for such pillars.

V

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF THE GERMANIC DIVINE TWINS

COUNTLESS CAVE drawings and other icons discovered by archaeologists confirm the existence of widespread Dioscuric cults among Germanic-speaking peoples.[1] This evidence, which represents a wide geographic area, and a time span of many centuries, can be divided essentially into the following groups.

1. Rock drawings of the early Bronze Age, found mainly in Scandinavia.
2. Bronze jewelry, razors, and similar items of the later Bronze Age, most of which were found on the Jutland peninsula.

3. Aniconic wooden pillars representing various periods and a widespread geographic area.

4. Inscriptions, drawings, helmets, and other items representing the entire Germanic area and from a relatively modern period, *ca.* first century A.D. to the end of the Viking Age, *ca.* 1100.

5. Roman coins, inscriptions, pillars, etc. representing the period of Roman occupation of Germanic territory. The divinities depicted on such items, in some instances, evidently represent Germanic gods according to *Interpretatione Romana.*

Although numerous drawings are posited as Dioscuric evidence, only a relatively few of these are at all convincing. Therefore, no attempt is made here to survey all the material that has been so posited;[2] only those items are discussed for which a reasonably convincing argument can be made that they depict the Germanic Divine Twins.

Within the first group, the rock drawings of the early Bronze Age, are a number that evidently depict pairs of divinities. For example, a drawing found in Villfarahögen depicts two horses drawing a chariot above a group of boats, as if the horses were watching over the seamen.[3] It has already been demonstrated in chapter ii that the various pairs of Indo-European twin divinities were worshipped as the patrons of seafaring men. Another drawing, this one from Kivik, shows a pair of men, or youths, standing next to a pole from which are hanging two oval-shaped forms.[4] Scholars have assumed this device to be a "fire-making implement,"[5] and a "tree of life."[6] Two other drawings from this same area depict two figures standing on either side of a circular form, which could represent the sun or some other celestial body.[7] On one of the drawings, each of the figures displays a large phallus, indicating that the drawing was a depiction of divinities of fertility. In earlier chapters I have demonstrated that twin divinities are generally associated with fertility.

One of the drawings most often presented as an example of Dioscuric worship

was found at Tanum in Bohüslan.[8] The figures depicted included a ship and a man who is standing above a double-spiral figure. Next to the man, stands an animal that may represent a horse, and to the right are a pair of human figures joined together at the heads, each representing the mirror image of the other. The boat has been interpreted as a depiction of the Dioscuric rescue ship; the man with the outstretched arms is supposed to represent the functions of salvation and aid; the spirals are allegedly symbols for the morning and evening stars; the horse is said to represent Dioscuric theriomorphism; and the "mirror pair" is said to be a "Symbol der Gegensätzlichkeit der jugendlichen Götter trotz all ihrer Gleichartigkeit."[9] Such an interpretation appears tenable; however, many additional, equally convincing, interpretations of such a drawing are possible. It must be stressed that a drawing or inscription that depicts two men or two horses side by side is not necessarily a religious icon honoring the Divine Twins, and should not be so interpreted unless there is sufficient additional evidence supporting the assumption. Such iconic evidence must therefore be treated with caution, and the investigator should refrain from drawing far-reaching conclusions from the icons alone.

In spite of the uncertainty that accompanies pictorial evidence, a number of the drawings can be convincingly posited as evidence of the worship of the Divine Twins. For example, a drawing found in a cave at Fiskey-Eckenberg depicts a ship above which stand two gigantic figures rising high in the sky. The drawing appears to illustrate that the ship is being protected by a pair of twin divinities.[10] A similar drawing from Hvitlycke depicts two unusually large figures in a boat, each bearing an ax in his right hand.[11]

The second group, namely the items from the later Bronze Age, offers most impressive iconic evidence of a Germanic Dioscuric cult. Among the best of these items is a bronze razor found in Jutland on which two men are depicted sitting side by side in a boat with their arms raised.[12] Each has a shining halo effect surrounding his head, indicating that the figures represent divinities of light, possibly even stars. That the figures appear with upraised arms in a boat may be an indication that, as in other Indo-European traditions, the twins were worshipped as guardians of seafarers. Another depiction upon a bronze razor confirms the contention that the divinities were associated with stars, for here a boat is shown bearing not two human figures, but two shining stars.[13] Another such boat depicted on a razor is shown being drawn by a swan,[14] while still another has a pair of swans, one at each end of the boat.[15] It has already been demonstrated in chapter ii that the swan was the traditional bird of epiphany of the Indo-European Divine Twins. One is reminded of the Vedic hymn (*RV* 4.45.4) in which it is reported that swans are seen with the Aśvins and of *RV* 1.119.4 in which birds are said to draw the chariot of the Aśvins through the heavens.

Regarding the third group, namely the aniconic wooden pillars, evidence of such finds has been discussed in the preceding chapter and thus need not be treated any further here.

The fourth group, representing those items from more recent periods, offers material of particular interest. In a recent article, Karl Hauck has called attention to some remarkable iconic evidence of Germanic peoples in the early Middle

Ages.[16] Although Hauck made no attempt to interpret the data with regard to twin divinities, some of the material depicts scenes reminiscent of the Indo-European Dioscuric tradition. For example, there are two figures in a boat depicted near swans, horses, and elks. Among the more striking are a pair of dancing warriors found on a helmet in Sutton Hoo, England. This pair of figures no doubt represents the Germanic Divine Twins, who, like their counterparts in other Indo-European traditions, must have been considered as divinities of the dance.[17] These figures, moreover, are not an isolated phenomenon. In a recent article, Wilhelm Holmqvist has assembled a remarkable collection of icons showing human figures engaged in dance.[18] And, although Holmqvist likewise was not concerned with the problem of divine twins, many of these dancing figures occur in pairs. This evidence indicates that the cult of the dancing twin gods was widespread among Germanic peoples.

Another interesting icon was found on the island of Seeland. It is a statuette depicting two youths with horned helmets; each of the figures is raising an ax in the air.[19] The figures are reminiscent of the two figures depicted in the rock drawing from Hvitlycke which dates from a period centuries earlier. Here the figures are likewise seen raising an ax in the air. It is evident that these figures represent divinities of warfare who are called upon to provide divine aid during battle, as were the various pairs of divinities in other Indo-European traditions.

Among the most impressive of all the iconic evidence from this period are the famous golden horns of Gallehus.[20] Although the originals of the horns have been lost, the depictions upon them have been recorded. On each of the horns are various pairs of figures. One such pair is shown with each of them holding a sword upraised in his right hand. Each is surrounded by stars, and each has a star upon his breast. Another such pair is depicted in the form of a cross, one over the other. In this instance only one of the figures is shown bearing a sword in his hand. The other figure is empty-handed. This may well constitute an example of the separate functions of the twins. It has been shown in chapter ii that in the various Indo-European traditions, one of the twins was associated with warfare (second function) while his brother was associated with fertility (third function). The fact that only one of the pair on the horn is armed could well indicate that Germanic tradition likewise associated each twin divinity with a distinct function.

Finally, each of the golden horns shows a remarkable figure of a pair of horses joined at the midsection and facing in opposite directions. This curious figure evidently represents the theriomorphic manifestation of the Germanic twin divinities. The fact that the two horses are combined in a single figure gives concrete visual expression to the close relationship of the divinities.

The two golden horns of Gallehus were evidently highly prized idols of a religious cult, and since the figures on the horns evidently represent twin divinities, it is not too daring to assume that the cult in question was a Dioscuric cult. One can even conjecture that the horns of animals in general functioned as Dioscuric idols. Indeed, evidence is presented in the following chapter to show that such was the case.

The fifth category of Dioscuric icons is represented by items of Roman art. The Roman Dioscuri have been depicted on items found in Spain and France as well

as in Germany. Emil Krüger has assembled and thoroughly investigated this material.[21] He arrived at the conclusion that much of this evidence represents Gallic and Germanic Dioscuric cults depicted according to *Interpretatione Romana.* He further concludes that the Gallic cults owe their existence to the Germanic cults of the Divine Twins: "Wo Germanen auftreten, da spürt man auch den Kult der Dioskuren" (p. 60).

Krüger, evidently because of nationalistic motivation, was all too eager to interpret the data as evidence of the Germanic Divine Twins, and thus the results of his study must be viewed with a certain amount of caution. Nevertheless, much of his work is convincing, and he was able to demonstrate beyond doubt that the cult of the Divine Twins was known all over continental Europe.

There are countless other icons that have been interpreted as depictions of the Germanic Dioscuri, but few of these are, in themselves, convincing. Instead one must look elsewhere for additional evidence. Such evidence is provided by the sources that report on the relatively widespread Germanic traditions involving dual kingship.

VI

GERMANIC DUAL KINGSHIP

Any attempt to reconstruct the religion and mythologies of the Germanic peoples will inevitably be handicapped by the lack of reliable source material. In the present investigation, even the most famous sources, the Icelandic Eddas, are of only limited value; and although the passage from Tacitus' *Germania* constitutes an excellent source, it is, unfortunately, an isolated occurrence. One body of source material, however, does supply a relatively large amount of data on the Germanic twins, namely, the various histories and chronicles containing reports of several pairs of youthful leaders who led various Germanic peoples on their migrations. The following attempts to show conclusively that such pairs have evolved from the traditions of the mythological Divine Twins.

Ibor and Aio.—The Lombard historian Paulus Diaconus mentions two such pairs in a single historical episode (*Hist. Langob.* I, 2–8). Each of these pairs is reported to have been the leaders of a migrating tribe. Paulus writes that overpopulation forced the Vinniler to split into three parts, one of which was to migrate from the Scandinavian homeland.[1] This migrating group had as its leaders (duces) a pair of brothers, Ibor (var. Hibor, Ebor) and Aio (var. Agio), sons of Gambara, a woman with unusual prophetic powers. The two youths were superior in strength to all other members of the tribe. When they arrived in Scoringa, they encountered a Vandalic tribe, which likewise stood under the leadership of a pair of young brothers, Ambri and Assi, who were in control of that territory (*Hist. Langob.* I, 7). A battle was imminent, and since the Vinniler were greatly outnumbered, Ibor, Aio, and Gambara turned to Frea for help. Paulus then relates the legend of Frea's outwitting Wotan, of the victory of the Vinniler, and of the asquisition of their new name, the Langobards.

It should be emphasized that in the above episode the mother of the twins plays a dominant role, while the father is never mentioned. She also is the one on whom the people call for advice at the proper moment, indicating that she occupied an important position in the group and was considered to have unusual prophetic powers. It has been established that emphasis upon the mother is a typical trait in legends of divine twins throughout the world.[2] If Gambara represents a parallel to the other mothers of Divine Twins of the Indo-European tradition, then she was probably considered to have been visited by a divinity. Norbert Wagner believes that this episode, in which Frea outwits Wotan and forces him to help Ibor and Aio, was originally a legend in which the mother of the twins sought aid from their divine father. The father, originally, was not Wotan, but **Tiwaz,* 'Sky-God.' Wagner then interprets the entire episode as a recording of the switch from the worship of *Tiwaz to that of Wotan.[3]

The legend of the origin of the Langobards is also found in Book VII of Saxo's *Historia danica.* King Snio (snow) of Denmark was in a dilemma as to what action should be taken to gain relief from a great famine that threatened to decimate his people. The two brothers Aggo and Ebbo then made the suggestion that all the aged and children should be executed and the weak should be driven from the land; however, Gamburak, the mother of the twins, suggested that those who were to leave the homeland should be chosen by drawing lots. Thus Aggo and Ebbo were chosen to lead the establishment of a new colony.

Although Saxo knew Paulus, he also evidently knew other histories or legends recording the event, for his version differs both in content and in the names of the participants from all the known historical sources.

The episode evidently refers to the period of the migrations when increasing population forced peoples to seek new lands. Thus one could assume the report is based on accurate historic fact. On the other hand, it should be stressed that Divine Twins have traditionally been associated with the founding of new settlements. Thus there is the possibility that the various historical reports were ultimately obtained from heroic lays or heroic legends, which in turn may have been Dioscuric in origin. Such an assumption raises numerous questions, most of which are taken up in succeeding chapters.

A study of the names of the twins can throw additional light on the problem. *Ibor,* NHG *Eber,* means 'wild boar.' *Aio / Agio* has been linked with Gothic *agan* 'to fear';[4] however, others have traced the form from Proto-Germanic **agjo* 'point' or 'blade' of a weapon.[5] This latter etymology is not only more attractive for linguistic reasons, but also for its possible religious and heroic implications; for, as Norbert Wagner has demonstrated, the name *Ibor* was also used to refer to the tusk of the boar.[6] According to this interpretation the twins' names would have essentially the same meaning, and would refer to the two sharp tusks of the wild boar, a fitting designation for the two youthful leaders of a migrating tribe.

The association of the Divine Twins with the tusks or horns of an animal has a parallel in the mythology of the Balts. For example, a Latvian daina (376–33862) reports that two black bulls are seen at sea with their shining horns. But they were not black bulls, the song reports, they were the horses of God. A variant of this song (376–33682 [1]) reports that a single white goat is seen at sea with a pair of golden horns. But it is not a white goat, it is the horse of God. It is probable that the two golden horns seen upon the horse of God at sea, represent the Divine Twins. This assumption becomes increasingly more probable when one considers that the horses of the Divine Twins were frequently envisioned at sea.[7] One can conjecture that the horns of animals were used as aniconic idols in the worship of the twins, and may have been so used among the Langobards, that is, the boar's tusks were the sacred symbols of the Divine Twins.[8] Thus the heroic brothers would have received their names, *Agio* and *Ibor,* from Dioscuric idols in much the same manner as *Raos* and *Raptos,* and possibly the *Alcis.* It is shown in the course of this chapter that the names of other pairs of youthful leaders can likewise be associated with Dioscuric idols.

The fact that the renowned Golden Horns of Gallehus are illustrated with Dioscuric figures[9] may be further evidence that these horns were considered to

be sacred items of a Dioscuric cult. In Germany, moreover, one finds that horns are frequently mounted on the gables of peasant houses and are considered to have the power to protect the house and its inhabitants from evil spirits and disease.[10] It is possible that such horns represent the survival of Dioscuric idols. Perhaps archaeological studies can cast more light on this problem.

Ambri and Assi.—Paulus' history of the Langobards reported that the Vandalic tribe encountered by the migrating Vinniler was also led by a youthful pair, *Ambri* and *Assi,* about whom little is known other than their names. There have been various etymologies posited. Rudolf Much associates the names with ON *Askr* 'ash (tree),' and with Proto-Germanic **ambro* 'post.'[11] He thus equates the pair with the Eddic myth of the cross twins *Askr* and *Embla,* who were the first humans. They were reportedly formed from logs found on the seashore by the gods.[12]

W. Steinhauser, on the other hand, contends that *Assi* either is related to the Latin *assis* 'board' or is a diminutive of Latin *asser* 'beam.'[13] *Ambri,* according to Steinhauser, is related to Latin (pl.) *ambrices* 'horizontal beams.'[14] Other scholars have contended that *Assi* is cognate with Gothic *ans* 'wooden pillar,' ON *ass.*[15] Regardless of which etymology one prefers, it is evident that the names reflect the aniconic idols, the traditional symbols of the Indo-European Divine Twins.

The name *Ambri* occurs in the Middle High German *Annals of Quedlinburg* in which is contained the story of the two Harlungen brothers, one of whom is named *Embrica.* The report is clearly based on a Germanic heroic legend. It contains many elements reminiscent of a Dioscuric myth, and has been posited as such by Müllenhoff.[16]

The etymology linking *Assi* with Gothic *ans* recalls Jordanes' testimony (*Getica,* 13) that the Gothic chieftains claimed to be descended from demigods *(semidei)* called *anses* (var. *ansis*). Meringer, who believed that the *ansis* were related to the name *Assi,* has equated the *anses* with the *Alcis* of Tacitus.[17] If this be true, the Gothic chieftains would have considered themselves descended from the Divine Twins, and the situation would represent a parallel to that of ancient Greece, where dual kings were looked upon as the incarnations of the Divine Twins.[18] One difficulty with this contention is that in Nordic tradition the equivalent to the Gothic *ansis* are the *Aesir,* who are opposed to the *Alfar* and the *Vanir.* A. H. Krappe has investigated this problem, and has conjectured that the Norse dynasty is secondary and that *Aesir* originally was used to designate the Divine Twins.[19] Krappe substantiates his contention by quoting from the Icelandic *Landnáma-bóc* in which it is reported that two brothers of noble stature called *Þorvaldr* and *Þórðr* appear at dawn in glowing armor so that all believe "that the Anses themselves have come" (*at Æsir vaere þar komner*).[20] Krappe concludes that *Aesir* here obviously refers to the Divine Twins and not to a divine dynasty. For those who might object that the *Landnáma-bóc* is hardly the place in which one would expect to encounter religious source material that is supposed to predate the Edda, Krappe argues convincingly that the passage represents a popular comparison of the type that preserves long-forgotten beliefs.[21] In view of these findings, there is a certain probability that the *anses,* to whom the Gothic kings traced their ancestry, were, originally, a pair of Germanic Divine Twins.

Raos and Raptos.—I have already mentioned the history of the Dio Cassius (71, 12) which reports that in A.D. 171 a people known as the *Astingoi* (var. *Asdingi*) appeared suddenly on the border of Dacia. Cassius wrote that this migrating tribe, among whom were women and children, was under the leadership of a pair of youths, *Raos* and *Raptos,* whose names, as pointed out in chapter iv, mean approximately 'pole' and 'post.'[22]

The Asdingi, a Vandalic tribe, evidently correspond to the Norse Haddingjar, the sons of Arngrímr. It is striking that much of the evidence of Dioscuric cults among Germanic peoples has been obtained from sources that deal either with the Vandals or with peoples closely associated with the Vandals. For example, Ibor and Aio were leaders of the Vinniler, the Alcis were worshipped by the Naharvali, and Ambro and Assi were associated with the Vandals themselves. R. Much has brought forth a relatively convincing argument to show that the very name *Vandal-* reflects the worship of the Divine Twins.[23] He contends that the root of the word is contained in the Proto-Germanic name for the morning star, **auzo-wandiloz.* The Anglo-Saxon cognate *ēarendel* has been glossed in Latin sources as *lēoma* 'beaming light,' *aurora* 'dawn,' and *iubar* 'morning star.' The name also occurs in Norse mythology as Aurvandill. When Thor visits Groa, the wife of Aurvandill, in the hope of enlisting her magic aid, he tells the story of the time he rescued Aurvandill from Jotunheim and of how, in the process, Aurvandill's toe had frozen. Thor broke it off and cast it into the heavens, where it became a star, known as *Aurvandils tá.*

The name for the morning star has also been recorded for the Langobards (*Aurivandalo*), in a Frankish chronicle (*Orentil*), and in the MHG epic poem *Orendel.* The name is also found in Saxo's Danish history in which the father of *Amlóði* (Hamlet) is called Horrendillus. R. Much contends that the first part of the name is from Proto-Germanic **auzoz-* 'shining,' and the last part from **wandilos,* a diminutive of the form cognate with ON *vondr* 'whip,' 'rod,' which, according to Much, acquired the meaning 'ray' or 'beam.' It is of interest that the English word *beam* (Ger. *Baum*) likewise means both a 'wooden pillar' and a 'ray of light.' Similarly, the Latin form *radius* can mean both 'rod' and 'ray.' Much contends further that **wandiloz* is an ablaut cognate of German *winden* 'to twist,' ON *vondull* 'twisted sheaf of hay.' The form *Aurvandils tá* is, according to Much, a folk etymology and the original meaning was not 'toe' but 'post.' He then links the name with a horse cult in Asia where the planet Venus was allegedly thought of as a hitching post for celestial steeds.[24] Although this latter assumption is not convincing, there appears to be a definite link between the name Vandal, the worship of the Morning Star, and the Germanic Divine Twins; however, the complex religious and mythical background will probably continue to defy all attempts at reconstruction until such time as additional evidence is uncovered.

Vinill and Vandill.—There is additional evidence linking the name Vandal with a pair of Divine Twins. In the "Catalogue of Sea-Faring Kings" of Snorri's *Edda* occur the names of a pair of heroic kings, Vinill and Vandill.[25] The names probably reflect a pair of Divine Twins from whom the Germanic peoples, the Vinniler and the Vandali, acquired their names. It should be stressed that there are reports of dual kings for each of these peoples. The Vinniler were led by Ibor

and Aio, while the Vandali were led by Ambri and Assi. Such evidence could point to a long history of Dioscuric dual kingships, perhaps even extending over centuries. Indeed, there is evidence that the practice of a people taking its name from a Divine Twin continued even after new tribes migrated from the homeland. For example, the name *Ambrones,* which evidently comes from the Dioscuric name *Ambri,* has been documented as the name of a people. Similarly, there is evidence of another people called *Assipitti,* which probably reflects the name *Assi.*[26]

Hengest and Horsa.—Although reports for Germanic dual kings are generally rather scant, there is an abundance of historical sources recording the exploits of the famous young brothers *Hengest* and *Horsa,* who are reported to have led the Anglo-Saxon invasions of the British Isles. In comparison with the continent, the British histories are of a more recent date, none being older than the eighth century A.D. Nevertheless, there are some striking similarities between the Anglo-Saxon traditions and the traditions from the continent.

There is no dispute regarding the meaning of the names; each simply means 'horse,' thus clearly revealing the same theriomorphic concept associated with other Divine Twins of the Indo-European tradition.

There is a probability that wooden idols were also associated with the worship of the pair, for, as has already been mentioned, in the village of Jevenstedt in Schleswig-Holstein, the wooden horses adorning the gables of the peasant houses were still called *Hengst* and *Hors* in the late nineteenth century.[27] These names were also given to wooden horses' heads in Hermannsburg in the Lüneburg heath.[28] This evidence represents a truly amazing survival of an ancient belief. Moreover, the distribution of the phenomenon indicates that the worship of the twin brethren was widespread, and evidently played a major role in Germanic religion.

Further evidence that Hengest and Horsa represent the mythological twins is supplied by the various genealogies that emphasize their divine origin.[29] For example, Bede, Nennius, Aethelweard, William of Malmesbury, and many others trace the pair directly from Woden and Freya.

Various English histories contain episodes involving the brethren which are clearly Dioscuric mythological legends in heroic garb. The chronicle of Aethelweard, for example, which dates from the end of the tenth century A.D.,[30] gives an account of the plight of King Vurthern of Britain, who, being beseiged on all sides by his enemies, sent messengers to the Saxons for help. Hengest and Horsa, two young men already renowned in Germany as the grandsons of "Woden," suddenly appeared with three vessels loaded with arms. The two youths took charge of the attack and soon succeeded in routing the enemy. There can exist no doubt that this report reflects a Dioscuric legend in which the twin brothers appear suddenly (and by sea) to save the besieged armies. This is the precise theme encountered frequently in the mythologies of various Indo-European peoples.[31]

The sudden appearance of three ships to aid a king in distress is reminiscent of the previously cited *Greenland Lay of Atli*[32] in which Guthrun speaks of herself and her two brothers, each of whom steers a ship at sea. They arrive at an unnamed seashore, rout the enemy, and free the prisoners. Although the chronicle of Aethelweard makes no mention of a sister, it is curious that the two brothers are

reported to have arrived with three ships. One can conjecture that the appearance of this third ship reflects the original participation of a third member, perhaps a maiden, in the expedition. Although the chronicles and histories make no mention of a maiden coming to Britain with the brothers, they do report that Hengest later became the father of a girl who was given the name Rowena. The name is evidently from the Celtic *rhon-wen* 'with a white mane,'[33] indicating a theriomorphic relationship with the horse, and representing a parallel to the theriomorphic nature of Hengest and Horsa. In view of the widespread Indo-European tradition of the triad of Dioscuric divinities, one must weigh the possibility that this maiden "with the white mane" was originally the sister of the twin heroes, the original relationship having been forgotten when the histories were recorded. Her Celtic name could have been, as Jan de Vries speculates,[34] a translation of the Germanic **Hvitmanu,* which would represent an alliterative parallel to the names Hengest and Horsa.[35]

Another report which is evidently also based on mythological legend tells that the Saxons, plagued by overpopulation and famine, drew lots for the purpose of choosing the members of an expedition to found a new colony. As a result of the drawing, Hengest and Horsa were chosen as the leaders.[36] This episode precisely parallels the above-cited accounts of the migration of the Vinniler, whose leaders, Ibor and Aio, were likewise chosen during a period of overpopulation and famine by the drawing of lots. Since the two episodes are nearly identical in detail, it appears evident that each is based on a Germanic Dioscuric legend. This assumption is supported by the fact that the Indo-European Dioscuri were frequently associated with the establishment of new settlements.[37] On the other hand, migrations because of overpopulation are well documented; thus one could argue for the historic accuracy of such reports. This problem is discussed in the following chapter.

In the English chronicles and histories reporting on the exploits of the heroic brothers, it is a curious fact that the one brother, Horsa, gradually fades from the scene, leaving Hengest as the sole leader of the Anglo-Saxon invaders.[38] The histories frequently explain that Horsa had died a young man. This report, however, is probably a secondary development which came about through the attempt to explain why the historic and lengendary traditions praised the exploits of Hengest only. I suggest other reasons for Hengest alone becoming the subject of heroic legends.

In discussing the separate functions of the Indo-European Divine Twins in chapter ii, we noted that the twin who represented the third function, and was thus associated with agriculture and domestic duties, and was of a docile, gentle nature, gradually faded from the scene. Thus the Avesta speaks of only one of the pair (Nāŋhaithya). Similarly, in Roman heroic tradition, Castor alone is patron of the soldiers of the cavalry. It is possible that we are confronted with a parallel situation in Anglo-Saxon tradition. Hengest, whose name links him with the stallion, represents the second function, and he was thus revered by the warrior classes. Horsa, who represented the third function, was revered chiefly by farmers and herdsmen. It is evident that the lays and legends praising the Anglo-Saxon heroes would stress the feats of the brother who represented the elite class of war-

riors, while the patron of the herdsmen, although continuing to be worshipped, would be excluded from these heroic traditions.

One can further speculate that the theriomorphic manifestations of the twins similarly reflected this contrast. Hengest, whose name means 'stallion,' may well have been associated exclusively with the war-horse. Horsa, on the other hand, may have been associated exclusively with the farm animal.[39]

Evidence of this contrast in the functions of the Germanic Divine Twins may have survived to modern times in a folk legend collected in the Ahr Valley of Germany in the early twentieth century.[40] The legend tells of a count who, when he felt he was near death, sent for his two sons. To one he presented a sword, and told him it was his duty to defend the castle against enemy invaders. To the other son he gave a plow, and instructed him to work peacefully in the valley.

This legend, although collected in modern times, may represent the survival of an ancient Dioscuric myth in which the one divinity, equipped with the sword, was primarily engaged in warfare, while his brother, equipped with the plow, was the patron of agriculture and fertility. This myth may, in turn, owe its existence to an Indo-European Dioscuric tradition. It will be remembered that a strikingly similar legend was recorded about the birth of the Spanish hero, the Cid.[41] It is possible that each legend owes its existence to a separate Dioscuric tradition. The legend of the Cid may derive from a Roman Dioscuric legend, while the German folk legend may be the survival of a Germanic myth of the Divine Twins. Each of these legends, in turn, may owe its existence to a single Dioscuric myth dating from the time of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. An alternative explanation, however, is likewise possible. The tradition of the birth of the Cid could be the survival of a Germanic Dioscuric myth introduced into Spain by early migrating peoples, e.g., the Goths or the Vandals. New evidence will have to be uncovered before these questions can be answered with any degree of certainty.

VII

THE DIVINE TWINS IN GERMANIC HEROIC TRADITION

In the instances cited involving the various pairs of dual kings, the Dioscuric legends associated with them had been euhemerized, that is, the celestial divinities had become mortal heroes, and their deeds had become heroic legends, or even "historic" events. To understand how this euhemerizing process took place, one must consider the tenor of the heroic age.

It is generally considered that the heroic age had its beginnings at a relatively late stage in the history of Germanic peoples, namely during the migrations. The great movements of peoples doubtless caused profound upheavals in the societies involved. Above all, when these peoples encountered new cultures and new religions, especially the Christian religion, their own faith must have weakened.[1] Such a change had its effect on the attitudes these peoples expressed toward their gods.[2] Simultaneous with this process was the development of an entirely new kind of life which demanded new kinds of leaders. These leaders were revered in the eyes of their people, and their deeds were praised in song and legend. These heroes naturally assumed the same high place that had previously been occupied by the gods. Thus the cults of the heroes eventually supplanted the cults of the gods, and the heroic legends and lays supplanted the older mythology.[3]

A glance at the historic-geographic development of the heroic age confirms this hypothesis. It is well known that heroic poetry had its beginning in the area where extensive contact between the Germanic peoples and the Mediterranean civilizations took place, that is, among the Goths. From here the spread of heroic traditions almost coincided with the spread of Mediterranean cultural influence until reaching Iceland, the last area to lose its mythological tradition, and the last to develop its heroic tradition.

Curiously, the phenomenon that gave birth to the heroic age, namely, the contact with a new civilization and a new religion, bore with it the very seeds of its decline; for when the Germanic peoples became dominated by the influence of Mediterranean civilization and the Christian religion, the heroic age necessarily came to an end. This decline can likewise be traced historically and geographically across Europe.

This interpretation serves to answer some additional questions. It has been shown that whereas Dioscuric cults once played an important role in the religions of the Germanic-speaking peoples, Eddic mythology reveals only scattered evidence of the Divine Twins. It is not difficult to understand why this is so. The place reserved for the Indo-European twins in the pantheon of gods was traditionally an insecure one. The Aśvins were scorned by the other gods because they were too close

to man. The Dioskouroi of Greece likewise wandered among men and, consequently, had no place on Mount Olympus. Such evidence constitutes a paradoxical situation. The Divine Twins were evidently quite popular, but because of their very popularity, they were not considered the equals of the other gods. This paradox can be explained in part by the functions of the twin deities. As divinities of the third function, that is, of fertility, health, and general well-being, they were doubtless the favorite divinities of the agriculturists and of the masses in general. As such, they were evidently treated with scorn by the more aristocratic elements of society. This attitude found expression in mythology in the certain amount of disdain with which the gods of the "first and second functions" treated the twins.

The problem, however, is complicated by the evidence that links the Divine Twins not only to the third function but to the second function as well. As demonstrated in chapter ii, the twins were invoked to provide divine aid in battle and to grant victory. One might surmise that there was a tendency for two distinct concepts of the Divine Twins to develop within a given society. Perhaps this is precisely what occurred among some Germanic-speaking peoples. Among the agriculturists and the herdsmen the actual cult of the twins may have continued to exist long after the official religion began to disintegrate. Indeed, certain findings attest to an amazing tenacity of Dioscuric cults among the farmers; for example, the Dioscuric icons on German farmhouses, and especially the pairs of horses' heads with the names "Hengst" and "Hors." Above all, there are the various twin saints who were invoked to perform the very functions of the Divine Twins right up to this century. These Dioscuric saints are discussed in a separate chapter.

Among the more aristocratic warrior classes, however, an entirely different development may have taken place. When the Germanic religion began to disintegrate, the Divine Twins, whose position in the official pantheon was, at best, insecure, could no longer be worshipped as powerful divinities; however, neither they, nor the myths associated with them, could be forgotten. Both the gods and the myths were incorporated into the heroic tradition. The older mythology thus became euhemerized. The Divine Twins, who were praised in myth, became the heroic twins who were praised in song and legend. There were doubtless whole cycles of heroic lays praising such heroes as Hengest and Horsa, Raos and Raptos, Ibor and Agio, and others. It is the remnants of such heroic lays and legends that have been recorded in the various histories and chronicles.

In light of this euhemerization, one can easily understand why the evidence of the Divine Twins in Eddic mythology is so fragmentary. At the time the Eddas were being written, the euhemerizing process had been completed; the Divine Twins had already become the heroic twins. The only peoples who still cherished the Dioscuric cults were the farmers and herdsmen who invoked the twins to promote fertility, and to insure the general well-being of crops and animals. Since the compilers of the Eddas were unquestionably poets of the aristocratic class, they were not concerned with the religion of the peasants. Therefore the Norse mythology as recorded in Eddic literature does not know the Divine Twins as such. As demonstrated in chapter iii, there is, however, unmistakable evidence that these divinities once belonged to the Norse pantheon.

In discussing the euhemerization of the Divine Twins, I have not yet considered one problem—the conflict between actual historic events and the legendary tradi-

tions. For the purpose of this investigation, it is of primary importance to determine that there were Germanic Dioscuric myths extant and that this mythology became a part of the heroic tradition. The extent to which the various reports found in chronicles and histories agree with historic fact is of secondary importance. Indeed, since the peoples from whom these historical data have been obtained unquestionably made little or no distinction between heroic legend and historic fact, it is nearly impossible to separate fact from fiction in such reports. Nevertheless, various scholars have placed a great deal of emphasis on the historical accuracy of the reports of heroic dual kings.[4] To be sure, there is some evidence that appears to confirm the actual existence of such pairs of kings, and it could stand in conflict with the above mythological interpretation of the histories. For example, the reports that tell of the drawing of lots to choose leaders of various expeditions to found new settlements could well depict actual historical occurrences. Migration because of famine and overpopulation is well documented. Moreover, the drawing of lots represents a traditional practice among Germanic peoples. Furthermore, one could argue that simultaneous kingship of a pair of brothers was a historical practice among Germanic peoples. All this evidence could be used to make a strong case for the accuracy of reports concerning the exploits of these leaders. Jan de Vries has investigated the problem and has arrived at a compromise solution. He considers the reports to have evolved ultimately from an ancient mythology; these ancient mythic notions, however, gave rise to the actual practice of peoples migrating under the leadership of youthful brothers.

> Aber ein Mythus dieser Art war kein eitler Schmuck, den man den geschichtlichen Tatsachen später einmal zudichten konnte; er war eine durchaus wirklich gedachte und vorbildliche Form für jede Landsnahme. Man muss also vielmehr annehmen, dass der Auszug germanischer Auswandererscharen unter der Führung eines Bruderpaares vor sich ging, eben weil das die von der mythischen Tradition geheiligte Form war. Dann aber ist es im Einklang mit archäischen Auffassungen, dass man den beiden Führern selbst die mythischen Namen beilegte, unter deren Auspicium sie die Unternehmung durchführten.[5]

De Vries' hypothesis might even be carried another step. It has been established in chapter i that a multiple birth is universally considered a supernatural event, and divine characteristics are often attributed to human twins. Indeed, we have seen that human twins are frequently considered the incarnations of the Divine Twins. This may well have been the practice among various Germanic peoples. When a set of twins was born, it was believed that the Divine Twins had appeared again among man. One can speculate that the ruling dynasty considered the birth of twins a threat, since the populace probably looked upon these children as the natural successors to the kingship. To alleviate this danger, and, at the same time, to help solve the problem of overpopulation, the ruling dynasty may have placed the twin brethren in charge of an expedition to establish a new colony. Indeed, since this practice was reinforced by the mythology, it may well have become a tradition. The birth of twins may have been considered a divine oracle, providing that the youths, upon reaching maturity, were to be made the leaders of a new migration.

Although this conclusion is, admittedly, speculative, there is evidence supporting the assumption that the twin kings were considered the reincarnations of the Divine Twins. In the history of Suffridus Petrus (*De Fris. Antiq. et Orig.* II, 15)

it is told that a maiden named Swana, a great-granddaughter of Woden, had two brothers, Hengest and Horsa, who were killed. She later married Duke Udolphus of Frisia and bore him two sons, naming them Hengest and Horsa in memory of her deceased brothers. These sons grew up to become the famous brethren who led the invasions of Britain.

The name *Swana* 'swan' warrants special attention, since the swan is the favorite epiphany bird of the Divine Twins.[6] Moreover, a similar name occurs elsewhere within Germanic heroic tradition where it can likewise be associated with the Divine Twins. This name is discussed in greater detail during the course of this chapter.

It is evident that Swana and her brothers, descendants of Wotan, represent a Germanic Dioscuric triad. Thus when Suffridus Petrus attests that the historic Hengest and Horsa were named after these brothers, it may indicate that the former were considered the mortal incarnations of their divine ancestors.

Let it be stressed again that the question regarding the historical nature of the Germanic dual kings is not of primary importance to this study. Indeed, unless new evidence can be adduced, we will never be certain whether these pairs actually lived or not. One important fact, however, has been established. Even if the dual kings actually did live, even if the reports of their exploits are historically accurate, this evidence would not preclude the possibility that the figures themselves, as well as the reports of their adventures, were essentially mythological in origin. Thus the fact of primary importance to this investigation has been established. The Indo-European Divine Twins were indeed worshipped by the Germanic peoples, and the cult was widespread in the Germanic area. It has furthermore been established that the Germanic Dioscuric traditions were widely euhemerized by the time the evidence was recorded.

In view of this euhemerization, it is to the heroic narratives that one must turn if one is locate additional evidence of the Divine Twins in Germanic tradition. Various epics, lays, and similar writings show unmistakable parallels to the Indo-European Dioscuric tradition. Among the more striking is the rescue episode of the Middle High German heroic epic *Kudrun.*[7]

The Liberation of Kudrun: An Indo-European Theme?—The episode of the Middle High German epic *Kudrun* that tells of the liberation of the heroine from captivity has long posed one of the more perplexing problems for investigators interested in the prehistory of the epic. The scene in question occurs in the third and final episode:

> The lovely princess Kudrun is promised in marriage to Herwig, however, before the wedding the maiden is abducted by Hartmut and taken to Ormanie [Normandy]. Kudrun refuses to have anything to do with her abductor, and as a result of her obstinacy, she is turned over to the care of Hartmut's mother, Gerlind, who forces the princess to perform many difficult and humiliating tasks. One wintry morning in March, some thirteen years after her abduction, Kudrun is at the seashore washing clothes, when she spots a boat at sea bearing two knights. They are Kudrun's fiancé, Herwig, and her brother, Ortwein, who have come to liberate the maiden. After a brief recognition scene, Kudrun casts the clothes into the water and returns to the castle. The following morning Herwig and Ortwein return, leading the large army. They defeat the Normans and liberate Kudrun.

The fact that two knights appear to rescue one maiden in distress has been the key point of contention among scholars, and it has generally been assumed

that one of the pair must have been the sole and original rescuer in the source material used by the author of the epic.[8] This assumption has generally been based on the fact that there exists a cycle of popular ballads treating this theme, and in these ballads there is only one rescuer, most often the brother. The relationship between the ballads and the epic is a complex problem that I prefer not to treat here. It suffices to call attention to the study of the Hispanist Ramón Menéndez Pidal.[9] By listing a large group of Kudrun ballads in which the original duality is preserved, and by demonstrating that in other ballads the husband or fiancé, not the brother, is the sole rescuer, Menéndez Pidal has shown that the duality must have been a primary element in the ballads. In some instances the *Zersingen* process reduced the number of rescuers to one; sometimes it was the husband or fiancé, sometimes the brother, who was eliminated. Menéndez Pidal's findings are very convincing, and they are important to the study of the prehistory of the epic, for it has now become clear that the author of *Kudrun* did not use a ballad or any other source in which there was only one rescuer. The duality evidently belongs to the tradition from which the rescue episodes stems, that is, from a euhemerized treatment of a Dioscuric mythological theme. In this heroic treatment the two shining knights, who suddenly appear in a boat at sea to rescue the princess on the seashore, represent the Divine Twins who have come to liberate their sister and betrothed, the Sun Maiden. Indeed, an investigation of the various sources reveals a mythological theme so identical in detail to the above rescue episode that a relationship is highly probable.[10]

The most famous treatment of the theme is found in Greek tradition, in the story of the abduction of Helen by Theseus (Herod., *Hist.* IX, 73; Alcman, *Fragment* 12; Paus., I.41.4; Plutarch, 31 ff.). Essentially the story is as follows: When Helen was still a child, she was dancing in the temple of Artemis Orthia when she was carried off by the then fifty-year-old Theseus. Some men were sent in pursuit, but they followed no further than Tegea. Because of her youth, the maiden was delivered by Theseus to his mother Aethra for care. Kastor and Polydeukes proceeded to Athens where they peacefully demanded their sister. They learned that she was a captive of Aethra in Aphidnae. They stormed Aphidnae, defeated the defending armies, won the town, and successfully liberated their sister. They also took Aethra captive. All this occurred while Theseus was absent.[11]

There are evidently other manifestations of the same theme in Greek tradition. The Theban twins Amphion and Zethos rescue their mother Antiope, who was held captive by Lykos and placed in the care of the latter's wife Dirke, who tormented her captive. The liberating twins punish Dirke by tying her hair to the horns of a bull and letting her be dragged to death—a fate that Dirke had originally planned for Antiope. Lykos remains unpunished.

A similar legend is told of the twin brothers Calais and Zetes, the Boreadae. Their sister Cleopatra, a captive of Phineus, was delivered to the latter's wife Idea, who tormented her captive. The twin Boreadae then appeared on the scene, liberated their sister, and punished the tormentress. Phineus, however, remained unpunished.

Not only do the Greek legends agree in essence with the rescue episode of *Kudrun,* but also in some of the details. In each of the above stories, the heroine

is placed in the care of the mother, or wife, of the abductor. This woman is a sadistic female who takes pleasure in tormenting and mistreating the sister of the twins. She thus represents a precise parallel to Gerlind in the German epic. It should also be noted that in each of the Greek legends, the twins leave the abductor himself unpunished. This element also corresponds to the German epic in which the heroes not only leave the abductor unpunished, but forgive him his deed.

Locating the theme in the Indo-Iranian tradition presents a somewhat greater problem; however, here too, similar episodes can be detected. It has already been pointed out in chapter ii that the Vedic Aśvins are promised to their sister Sūryā in marriage (*RV* 7.69.4) and become her joint husbands (*RV* 4.43.6; 1.119.5). In the marriage hymn Sūryāsūktam (*RV* 10.85.9), however, she is given not to the Aśvins, but rather to Soma, a lunar deity. The very same series of events occurs in the Baltic folk songs, which are discussed below. The actual motif of the abduction and liberation of Sūryā is not found in the hymns, but there are allusions to such an occurrence.[12] For example, the twins are reported to have mounted the chariot "for Sūryā's sake" (*RV* 8.22.1), and they are seen leading her home in their chariot (*RV* 5.73.5). Persuasive evidence of such an abduction is provided by a folk tale from the Motinala which tells of how Suraj, the "Daughter of the Sun," is abducted by the Agaria, who intends to keep her as his wife.[13] In this tale, Suraj is obviously identical with the Vedic Sūryā, thus indicating that Vedic mythology once knew the myth of the abduction of the Sun Maiden. Furthermore, *Uṣas,* the dawn, who is frequently confused with Sūryā in the Vedic hymns, is, in essence, liberated every morning from darkness by the Aśvins.[14] One hymn even states specifically that she had been abducted (*RV* 6.60.2). There is, moreover, a whole series of hymns praising the Aśvins for rescuing the quail from the jaws of a wolf.[15] Myriantheus has convincingly argued that this episode represents the twins freeing *Uṣas* 'dawn' from darkness.[16] Although such a solar interpretation can never be proven, it does not seem likely that such a large number of hymns would praise the liberation of the quail if there were not a more profound significance to the episode.

The theme apparently found its way into the Indian heroic tradition, where a situation parallel to the polyandrous marriage of the Aśvins and Sūryā is found in the *Mahābhārata.* Here the princess Draupadī is the joint wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, two of whom are Nakula and Sahadeva, sons of the divine Aśvins. Stig Wikander's essay in which he established beyond doubt that this pair represents a heroic manifestation of the Divine Twins, is discussed in detail in chapter ii.[17] During the course of the epic, Draupadī is rescued a number of times, and once she is led home by Nakula on a 'chariot brilliant like the sun' (*rathenādityavarcasā*).[18]

An interesting episode of the epic which warrants special attention is the appearance of a pair of monkey kings (*Mbh.* II, 30) by the names of *Mainda* and *Dvivida.* When Sahadeva undertakes to subdue the entire world, he is foiled in his attempt only by these two monkeys who fight him to a standstill. Curiously, these two kings also make an appearance in the *Rāmāyana,* in which they are also called the "sons of the Aśvins." Evidently, these two monkey kings were identi-

fied in popular tradition with the Divine Twins, and in all probability they originally represented the theriomorphic alter egos of the Aśvins. Further evidence of this is presented below.

The central episode of the other great epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*—that is, the abduction and liberation of Sītā—may likewise be another manifestation of a Dioscuric theme. The famous epic tells of two brothers, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, handsome youths who carry swords and bows and glowing armor and look like glowing flames, making others bright with the reflection of their radiance. This pair shows the same contrast in their personalities as do Nakula and Sahadeva, and this has been shown to be a typically Dioscuric trait. Rāma is the handsome, shining warrior. Lakṣmaṇa is the faithful, obedient servant. After Rāma wins the hand of the lovely Sītā, he is banished from the country. Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā agree to join the hero in exile. Forced to wear the humiliating dress of bark, and carrying a hoe and basket, the trio leaves the country. The humiliating treatment, as well as the agricultural implements, is reminiscent of the situation in the *Rig Veda* where, as divinities of the common agriculturists and herdsmen, the twins are refused participation in the Soma sacrifice. In spite of their humble garb, the trio ascends the "flaming chariot of gold" and departs in a manner reminiscent of the Vedic Dioscuric triad which orbits the heavens in a celestial chariot. Later the two brothers and the princess are seen upon a raft crossing a body of water, a scene that is likewise reminiscent of the Vedic Dioscuric tradition.[19] Although Sītā is the wife of Rāma only, the constant presence of the husband's brother indicates that originally a polyandrous relationship—as with Sūryā and the Aśvins—lay at the base of the epic. Moreover, in some of the popular oral tales that treat this theme, Sītā is reported to be the sister of the heroic brothers.[20] If the oral tales represent a tradition that predates the epic, one can assume that a mythological incestuous element is involved which, likewise, would represent a striking parallel to the Vedic triad.

During their exile, Sītā becomes separated from the two brothers and is abducted by Rāvana, who takes the lovely princess to the isle of Lankā where he hopes to make her his wife. Sītā, however, refuses to have anything to do with her abductor and is consequently afforded cruel and humiliating punishment. In the attempt to liberate Sītā, the two brothers receive miraculous help from a pair of monkey kings, who represent precise counterparts to the heroic brothers. Sugrīva, like Rāma, is a heroic warrior king. Hanuman, like Lakṣmana, represents the perfect, obedient servant. This contrast in character is a typical trait of the Indo-European Divine Twins. Another Dioscuric trait of these monkey kings is the fact that Sugrīva is mortal while Hanuman is immortal. As in the *Mahābhārata,* the pair of monkeys may have originally represented the theriomorphic alter egos of the twin brothers.

With the help of the monkeys, a great bridge is constructed over the sea, across which Rāma and Laksmana lead the liberating army. After many adventures the two brothers succeed in liberating the lovely Sītā, who has suffered great torment in protecting her innocence. Toward the end of the epic, Sītā gives birth to a set of twin boys, who may represent a new incarnation of the Divine Twins.[21]

The theriomorphic association of the Divine Twins with the monkey has found further expression in Indian popular tradition in a Bengali folktale published by F. B. Bradley-Birt,[22] a summary of which follows:

> Two mothers give birth to an owl (Bhootoom) and to a monkey (Boodhu), and are consequently disgraced. The mothers are forced to perform humiliating and difficult menial tasks. Five other brothers, each of whom has a different mother, are afforded excellent treatment. Each of them has nothing but scorn for Bhootoom and Boodhu! On one occasion, the five brothers run into great distress at sea and exclaim: "Oh for Bhootoom and Boodhu. Were they here they would save us!" Immediately the two brothers fall from the sky with their boats, which are marked with spots of vermilion, and they rescue the five brothers. Later the twins win the hand of the "Golden Princess;" however, the five ungrateful brothers abduct her and cast the owl and the monkey into the sea. The word of their fate reaches the mothers of the twins, and despondent over the loss of their sons, the two women attempt to drown themselves in the sea. Suddenly the owl and the monkey appear from nowhere to rescue their drowning mothers. The princess, who has rejected her abductors, is then liberated by the twins. Another princess is then introduced, and a double wedding takes place. The five brothers and their cruel mothers are walled up in their rooms where they perish. The owl and the monkey then change into "shining princes of god-like mien," who sit on horseback guarding the palace gates.

As in the *Mahābhārata,* the twins are the youngest of a set of brothers, and occupy an inferior station. In the Bengali tale their position has acquired the tone of the mistreated "step-child" theme, typical of the folktale. The typically Dioscuric traits, however, are many: The twins appear suddenly to perform rescues at sea, they travel in their boats in the sky, they both court the hand of one princess, who is abducted. They then liberate the abducted princess. Moreover, their mothers play a dominant role, and, at the end, the brothers are "shining" and "god-like" and are envisioned on horseback. Furthermore, the theriomorphic association with the monkey evidently became a popular trait in the euhemerization of Dioscuric themes in India, as has been shown above. In addition, the Bengali tale emphasizes the sadistic nature of the mothers of the abductors, a trait that was included in both the Greek treatments of the theme and in the Middle High German *Kudrun.*

Elements of the mythological theme can likewise be detected in the Latvian folk songs. The images described in these songs have clearly evolved from a solar mythology, and the recurring theme is the rising and setting sun with its accompanying phenomena.[23]

As in the Vedic tradition, the Sun Maiden is a passenger in the boat of the Divine Twins:[24]

358-33732 Ābelkoka laivu daru,
Abi gali pazeltīti;
Dieva dēli jīrējiņi,
Saules meitu vizina

[I make a boat out of an apple tree, / Both ends are golden. / God's sons, the oarsmen, / Take the Sun Maiden sailing.]

Just as in the Vedic tradition, the twin deities are reported to be the suitors of the Sun Maiden:

389-34008 Sudrabiņa gaili dzied
Zeltupītes maliņā;
Tie piecēla Dieva dēlus
Saules meitas precinieкus

[The silver cocks are crowing / At the banks of the golden stream; / They are waking the Sons of God, / Suitors of the Sun Maiden.]

In some instances, a single Son of God is reported to be the suitor:

368-33801(2) Kam tie sirmi zirgi stāv
Pie Saulītes nama durīm?
Dieva dēla sirmi zirgi,
Saules meitas precenieka.

[Whose grey steeds / Before the door of the Sun's house? / They are the horses of the Son of God, / The Sun Maiden's suitor.]

The appearance of a single Son of God is unquestionably the result of a secondary development. Originally both deities were the suitors, and they were reduced to a single figure when the mythological polyandrous theme was no longer understood. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the horses are in the plural in the above song.

Some songs report that the Sun Maiden is the beloved of the Morning Star. This evidence confirms the contention that Morning Star and Evening Star are to be equated with the Sons of God in Baltic mythology.[25]

388-34001 Smalku rožu cisas taisu,
Magoniņu paladziņu;
Saules meita gulētāja
Ar to rīta Auseklīti.

[I make a bed of pretty roses, / A blanket of poppies; / The Sun Maiden has gone to bed / With the Morning Star.]

As in the Vedic hymns, the Sun Maiden was promised to the Son(s) of God, but given instead to the Moon.

372-33843 Māte, mani auszēdama,
Sola Dieva dēliņam;
Kad uzaugu, tad nedeva,
Tad iedeva Mēnesim.

[While my mother was bringing me up, / She promised me to God's Son; / But when I grew up, she did not give me to him. / She gave me to the Moon.][26]

It is evident that the above daina is narrated by the Sun Maiden. This becomes clear when one compares this variant with one published by Mannhardt.[27]

Die Sonne zog ihre Tochter gross,
Versprach sie dem Gottessöhnchen.
Als die gross gewachsen war,
Gab sie sie nicht, sondern gab sie dem Monde.

Another daina reports that the Divine Twins become the joint husbands of the Sun Maiden(s).

362-33763 Dieva dēli, Saules meitas
Vidū gaisa kāzas dzēra;
Mēnestiņš tecēdams,
Tas pārmija gredzeniņus.

[God's Sons and Sun Maidens / Were celebrating a Celestial Wedding; / The Moon as he was moving, / Exchanged the rings.][28]

In one verse it is revealed that the Sun Maiden has been abducted.

388-33996 Šodien Saule silti tek
Par visām dieniņām;
Šodien Saules meitu ved
No Daugavas Vāczemē.

[Today the Sun is moving / More warmly than on other days, / Today someone has taken the Sun Maiden / From the Daugava to Germany.]

Another daina reports that it was the Moon who stole the Sun Maiden from the Morning Star.

384-33950 Saul' sacirta Mēnestiņu
Ar aso zobentiņu,
Kam atņēma Auseklam
Saderētu ligaviņu.

[The Sun shattered the Moon / With a sharp sword, / Because he stole the bride / From the Morning Star.]

Often the Sun Maiden is envisioned at the seashore washing her face or golden pitchers or white linen.

387-33984 Saules meita velējās
Vidū jūras, saliņā;
Zīžu kreklis, zelta vāle,
Sidrabiņa velēteve.

[The Sun Maiden beats the linen / Upon an island in the sea; / A shirt of silk, a mallet of gold, / A washboard of silver.]

There is a curious parallel to this washing theme in Bengali literature. In *The Manasa-mangal of Ketaka-Dasa* it is told that Behulā who is the mortal incarnation of the goddess Uṣas, washes the clothing of the gods at the seashore to gain their favor.[29] Mannhardt, in his study of the Latvian songs, demonstrated that the washing motif in Baltic mythology had resulted from the observation of certain solar phenomena.[30] The fact that the washing motif can be associated with the sister of the Divine Twins in both the Latvian and Indic traditions indicates that it belongs to the original stratum of Indo-European mythology.

Various Latvian dainas report that the Sun Maiden is directed to rise early and perform some cleaning tasks, for on the following day the Heavenly Twins are expected to arrive. For example:

391-34031 Celies agri, Saules meita,
Mazgā baltu liepas galdu:
Rītu nāks Dieva dēli
Zeltābolu ritināt.

[Arise early Sun Maiden, / Scrub the Linden table white: / Tomorrow morning the Sons of God are coming / to roll the golden apples.]

The heroine of *Kudrun*, as we have noted, received a similar order on the day that her liberators were to arrive.

In some verses the Sun Maiden is found at the seashore with her sister and her maid servant (403–55402). And in the following daina the Sun is reported to have thrown silk into the sea:

382-33920 Saulit' gāja spēlēties
Ar to jūras ūdentiņu;
Saulīt' meta zīdautiņu,
Jūr'a putu gabaliņu.

[The Sun went to play / With the water in the sea; / The Sun was throwing silk, / The sea a piece of foam.]

In other verses it is reported that the Moon weeps woefully because the Sun Maiden drowned while washing golden pitchers (374–33847, 405–55073). Another verse, however, reveals that the Sun Maiden did not drown, but was rescued by the Divine Twins:

386-33969 Saules meita jūru brida;
Vainadziņu vein redzēja.
Iriet laivu, Dieva dēli,
Glābiet Saules dvēselīti!

[The Sun Maiden was wading in the sea; / Only her crown was visible. / Row your boat, O Sons of God, / Rescue the Sun's soul [var. life]!]

Although there are numerous additional dainas involving the rescue theme, the above selection suffices for the purposes of this investigation. It should be stressed that these verses constitute an arbitary selection from a rather large corpus of mythological material. If a motif complex appears to develop, it is probably to be attributed to the choice and arrangement of the material. Although it would be convenient to hypothesize a Latvian myth from which these motifs have evolved, the investigator has no right to assume that such a myth existed on the basis of these songs alone. Nevertheless, the motifs are genuine, and their existence confirms the contention that the Indo-European mythological theme of the courtship and liberation of the Sun Maiden by the Divine Twins was once a part of Baltic mythology, and that it continued to live in Latvian popular tradition.

Elements of the same mythological theme are perhaps contained in an isolated folktale recorded in Rumania. (AaTh 368C). The tale, which has been recorded in several Rumanian variants,[31] tells of a cruel mother-in-law who sends her daughter-in-law to the river in March to wash wool clean. Two wanderers, God and St. Peter, appear and help the maiden in her task. They also deceive the tormentress so that she follows the flocks of sheep into the mountains and freezes to death. The daughter-in-law is thus liberated from her torment.

It should be stressed that the above tale is not part of a widespread oral tradition. Other than the Rumanian variants, the tale is unknown. While it is true that the so-called Kudrun theme also occurs in the popular ballad, the differences between the ballad tradition and the tale are so great that the latter cannot possibly be dependent on the former. The ballad tradition is discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Of particular importance in this tale is the motif of the heroine washing clothes at a stream. The image of the maiden washing at the shore, which is found in Baltic and Indic mythology, as well as in *Kudrun*, has been shown to be a traditional image in Indo-European mythology. Before assuming that the occurrence of this motif in the Rumanian tale represents a survival of a mythological theme, however, one must consider the possibility that the washing motif is instead merely a variation of the "difficult task" theme common to many folktales in which a heroine is mistreated. If so, this motif would have no organic relationship to the Indo-European mythological theme. There are several facts that speak against this possibility. First, the washing motif is not one with a widespread distribution: the

Thompson *Motif Index* has only a few examples. More important, the appearance of the two divine figures as the liberators is further indication that this tale is related to a Dioscuric theme. Although God and St. Peter are among the dramatis personae in many narratives, it is significant that they occur here in a context in which there is already a well-established tradition of a duality of rescuers. It would seem as if the Christian pair supplanted the original Dioscuric liberators at a time when the tale had to be made acceptable to a Christian audience.

The material presented in the preceding pages points to a clearly defined mythological theme that was evidently part of the corpus of Indo-European mythlogy at a time before the divergence of the various groups from the original homeland. It may be well to summarize the elements of this theme as they are preserved in the various traditions (excluding Germanic):

a) The Divine Twins, sons of the Sky-God (Vedic, Baltic, Greek),
b) who are associated with celestial phenomena or brightness (Vedic, Baltic, Greek),
c) and with horses (Vedic, Baltic, Greek),
d) court the Sun Maiden (Vedic, Baltic),
e) who is their sister (Vedic, Baltic, Greek).
f) She is promised to them in marriage (Vedic, Bengali, Baltic),
g) but she is given to, or is abducted by, another (Vedic, Agaria, Bengali, Rāmāyaṇa, Greek, Baltic),
h) who can be associated with the Moon (Vedic, Baltic).
i) The maiden is delivered to the mother of the abductor (Greek, Bengali).
j) She is forced to perform humiliating tasks or is otherwise tormented (Rāmāyaṇa, Greek, Baltic).
k) The maiden washes clothes at the sea, and casts them into the water (Baltic; also associated with the Vedic Uṣas, but in another mythological context).
l) The maiden is rescued by her betrothed and/or brothers (Rāmāyaṇa, Bengali, Baltic, Greek),
m) who arrive by sea (Rāmāyaṇa, Bengali, Baltic; also, Vedic Aśvins and Greek Dioskouroi are known patricularly for their rescues at sea).[32]
n) The tormentress is punished by the rescuers (Greek, Bengali).
o) The abductor, however, remains unpunished (Greek).

It must be emphasized that this outline is not being posited as a reconstruction of an Indo-European myth, but has been made merely to afford a quick glance at the theme as it appears in the various traditions. Furthermore, it must also be stressed that the Vedic and Baltic traditions offer no plot outline but merely isolated motifs.

If the above outline is compared with the rescue episode in *Kudrun*, the agreement is immediately striking. There is, however, one significant difference. In the Indo-European tradition the liberators are the brothers and joint husbands of the maiden in distress. In the German epic one of the liberators is the fiancé, while the other is her brother. Such a change is not only possible, but necessary. When the theme left the realm of mythology to become a part of the heroic tradition, the themes of polyandry and incest would have no longer been understood. Thus

the logical solution was reached: one of the twins retained the role of brother, while the other retained the role of suitor.

Analyzing some of the details of the epic reveals additional parallels with the Indo-European Dioscuric tradition. The night before the rescue, Ortwein and Herwig looked to the west over the seas toward Ormanie, where Kudrun was being held captive:

1164 ez was nu worden spâte, der sunne schîn gelac
verborgen hinder wolken ze Gustrâte verre.
des muose noch belîben Ortwîn und Herwîg der herre.

[It had now become late, the glow of the sun lay / Hidden behind clouds in distant Gustrate, / Thus Ortwein and Lord Herwig had to remain.]

Gustrâte is evidently derived from *Guldstrate* 'pathway of gold.' Thus the image is that of the last rays of the setting sun sinking in the water and leaving a path of gold toward the horizon. The image is reminiscent of the vision revealed in the Latvian songs of the Sun Maiden sinking into the water, only her crown visible, as the twins approach by boat to rescue her. It is also reminiscent of the rescue episode in the Rāmāyaṇa: a special bridge is constructed over the sea to Lankā, over which the brothers cross to liberate the captive Sītā. One is also reminded of the epithet *hiraṇyavartmanī* 'golden-pathed' borne by the Aśvins of the *Rig Veda*.

Stanza 1220 of the German epic includes a passage that is somewhat cryptic. Herwig offers greetings of "good morning" to Kudrun to whom " 'guoten morgen' und 'guoten abent' was . . . tiure." Thus after a long separation the greetings of "good morning" and "good evening" are especially dear when the trio is reunited. One is reminded of the hymns of the *Rig Veda* in which the triad of deities is invoked in the morning and in the evening.[33] The passage of the Middle High German epic may be one of the kind that preserves long-forgotten religious elements.[34]

Similarly, stanza 1371 may have preserved elements of the original Dioscuric theme, for in this scene Hartmut, the abductor, is watching the liberating army approach his castle, and he spots the banner of Ortwein: *Noch sihe ich ir einen mit liehten sparren rot.* 'I see yet one [more] with bright red wooden beams.' It is thus revealed that the banner of Prince Ortwein, one of the pair of liberators, bears the symbol of the wooden beams, the traditional aniconic idols of the Indo-European Divine Twins.

Moreover, in stanzas 1355–1356, one of Kudrun's maids and fellow captives is looking out the window at dawn toward the sea. She sees the symbols of the Divine Twins, the shining morning star and the shining lights of the liberators' armor. It must be conceded that the glowing of armor in the distance is a traditional motif in Middle High German literature. Nevertheless, even some of the folk ballads treating the Kudrun theme, which is discussed in a following chapter, stress the shining armor of the approaching liberators.

The agreement between the details of the German epic and the Indo-European tradition are too striking to be the result of mere coincidence. A genetic relationship unquestionably exists, but the precise nature of this relationship must be determined. One could assume that the theme became a part of a popular oral tradition, and, as such, spread across Asia and Europe; however, one will search

in vain through both the Aarne-Thompson Tale-Type Index and the Thompson Motif-Index for the theme.[35] Consequently, there is no basis for assuming that the theme was ever part of the oral narrative tradition of Eurasia. It is likewise obvious that the theme could never have spread at so early a date by a written literary tradition. Thus there remains only one tenable explanation. The theme was once a part of the cult poetry of the Indo-European religion, and, as such, it was carried into the new homelands, where it changed remarkably little in the new environments. In individual instances the theme became a part of the heroic tradition. It was such a euhemerization of the theme that served as a model for the author of *Kudrun*.

If it is true that a Dioscuric myth became part of the Germanic heroic tradition, one might expect to find additional evidence of Dioscuric themes in Germanic heroic poetry. The problem of locating such material is complicated, however, by the very nature of Germanic heroic literature. The themes of liberation, revenge, and fraternal piety are common to much of this poetry. Therefore the mere appearance of a pair of avenging, liberating brothers is, in itself, not sufficient to warrant the positing of the material as Dioscuric in origin. For this reason only those episodes are cited for which additional evidence can be adduced to support such a contention.

The Ermanaric Legend.—The legend surrounding the death of the Gothic king Ermanaric has frequently been posited as a heroic treatment of a Dioscuric theme.[36] The earliest documentation is found in Jordanes' Gothic history (chap. 24), and although the report is treated as fact, it is clearly based on a heroic legend or lay. Jordanes writes that Ermanaric was ruling a tremendous empire, extending from the Black Sea to the Baltic, when the Huns appeared on the eastern boundaries of his kingdom. While deliberating on how he should cope with this foe, the Rosmoni, a tribe that owed allegiance to him, seized the opportunity to betray him. In a rage of fury, the king ordered that Sunilda, a Rosmoni woman, should be torn to pieces by wild horses. Sunilda's brothers, Sarus and Ammius, wishing to avenge their sister, attacked the Gothic king, wounding him severely. As a result of his weakened condition, Ermanaric was unable to lead his people; his kingdom collapsed under the onslaught of the Huns, and the king died an old and broken man.[37]

Some centuries later, the same legend was recorded in Scandinavia (*Guðrunarhvot*, *Hamðismál*, Snorri's *Edda*, Saxo Grammaticus, and in the *Völsunga saga*), in German historical sources (*Annals of Quedlinburg*, Würzburg *Chronicles*), and in a low German popular ballad ("Konic Ermanarics dot"). A treatment is also found in Bragi's *Ragnarsdrápa* in which the depiction of the legend on Ragnar's shield is described.[38] The Scandinavian tradition differs from Jordanes primarily by the inclusion of a third brother (Erpr), and by the fact that the sister (Svanhild) is the wife of "Jörmunrek" (Ermanaric). The mother of the avenging brothers is Guthrun, who gives Svanhild in marriage to Jörmunrek—in Saxo it is the brothers who give their sister away in marriage. Jörmunrek is led to believe that his bride is guilty of infidelity, and he has her trampled to death beneath the hooves of horses. The outraged mother then calls upon her sons to avenge their sister. She provides them with armor that no sword can penetrate, and in Saxo's treatment she strikes the enemy with blindness. The brothers attack the king and cut off his hands and

feet; nevertheless they perish when the mutilated king orders his men to stone the brothers, since weapons cannot injure them. In Saxo it is Odinn who appears on the scene and suggests that the brothers be stoned.

The fact that Svanhild is trampled beneath the hooves of horses is reminiscent of the above-cited Greek legend[39] in which Dirke had planned a similar punishment for Antiope. Furthermore, the version given in Snorri's *Edda* reports that Svanhild was washing her hair in a stream when Jörmunrek ordered his men to trample her to death. This is reminiscent of the songs of the Baltic tradition in which the Sun Maiden was washing at the seashore when she was in danger of drowning, and of *Kudrun*, in which the heroine likewise was envisioned as washing at the seashore.[40]

The name of the sister in the Norse tradition is evidently from the ON *svanr* 'swan.' This name fits the Dioscuric pattern, for evidence presented in chapter ii demonstrates that the swan was traditionally associated with the Dioscuric triads of Indo-European mythology. It is possible, however, that the form *Sunilda* as recorded by Jordanes reflects the original name and the form *Svanhild* is secondary; however, a variant spelling, *Suanibildam*, occurs in one Jordanes manuscript, indicating that the Norse form reflects the original name.[41] One is reminded of the history of Suffridus Petrus cited above in which it was mentioned that the sister of Hengest and Horsa was called *Swana*. The name is also mentioned in the *Fornaldor saga*, 27, in which Svanhild *Gullfjöðr* 'Gold feather' is reported to be the daughter of *Dagr* 'Day' and of *Sol* 'Sun.' Thus the evidence speaks overwhelmingly in favor of associating this maiden with the Indo-European "Daughter of the Sun."

The avenging brothers are called *Sörli* and *Hamðir* in the Norse tradition and *Hamido* and *Serilla* in the German sources. There is no dispute regarding the meaning of the names, both of which refer to the armor borne by the young men.[42] This etymology is supported by the passages in the *Hamðismal*, 11, Saxo VIII, and in the *Völsunga saga*, 42, in which it is revealed that the two youths wear impenetrable armor. Moreover, the names are frequently used in Skaldic verse to refer to armor. That the names of the heroic brothers share the same meaning is of special significance, for we have seen in chapter i that such naming is typical of Dioscuric traditions throughout the world. Compare, for example, Hengest and Horsa, Raos and Raptos, to mention but a few.

Although it is difficult and often impossible to reconstruct the prototype of a heroic legend from variants that have been recorded over widely separated geographic areas and historic periods, it can be assumed with reasonable certainty that the essence of the Ermanaric legend involves a pair of heroic brothers who give their sister in marriage to a foreign king who subsequently develops some villainous traits and mistreats or kills his bride. The brothers, incited to action by their mother, undertake an expedition to liberate or avenge their sister. In view of the Dioscuric names of the participants and the general similarity of the legend to the Indo-European mythological tradition of the Divine Twins, it is very probable that this heroic legend constitutes a euhemerization of a Dioscuric myth.

There are a number of other Germanic heroic legends that bear a remarkable similarity to this theme. For example, in the legends that form the background

of the Nibelungen tradition, the brothers Gunnar (Gunther) and Högni (Hagen) give their sister Guthrun (Kriemhilde) in marriage to a foreign king, Atli (Etzel), who develops villainous traits. The brothers subsequently undertake a tragic expedition to the king's court. One can speculate that in the original legend the expedition was undertaken with the intention of liberating or avenging the mistreated sister. This hypothesis receives support when one considers the passage from the *Greenland Lay of Atli* in which there is evidence that Guthrun and her brothers were associated with a Germanic Dioscuric triad.[43] It is noteworthy that in the Ermanaric legend the protagonists are the sons of Guthrun. This could indicate a tradition involving successive generations of Dioscuric pairs. Such a tradition of successive generations of heroic twins has been shown to have existed among Germanic peoples who were ruled by dual kings.[44]

A remarkably similar plot apparently lies at the base of the famous legend of the battle of Finnsburg.[45] The Danish Princess Hildeburg had been given in marriage to a Frisian king, Finn, who similarly proved himself a villain, for he had Hildeburg's brother Hnaef slain while the latter was at Finn's court. The Danes then undertook to avenge the mistreated princess and her dead brother. Under the leadership of the renowned Hengest, the Danes defeated the Frisians and led the Princess Hildeburg home.

There can be little doubt that the Hengest of the Finnsburg legend is identical to the famed Hengest who led the conquest of Briton. The latter hero was unquestionably known to all the Germanic peoples involved in the conquest, and the coexistence of two individual heroic figures with so striking a name is highly improbable. Inasmuch as it has already been established that Hengest represents a heroic euhemerization of a Germanic Divine Twin, it becomes increasingly probable that the legend of Finnsburg is based on a Germanic Dioscuric theme. It is possible that the role of the slain brother, Hnaef, originally belonged to Horsa, the other member of the Dioscuric pair. It is well known that Horsa had disappeared from the heroic tradition at a relatively early date. Therefore it would not be surprising to find that the role originally played by Horsa in the heroic legend had been assumed by a new figure.

Although the similarities are too slight to permit one to draw a definite conclusion, there is the possibility that the same theme is contained in the British histories. According to various histories, including the Caxton chronicle and Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Hist. Reg. Brit.* IV, 15), Hengest gave his daughter Rhonwen in marriage to King Vortigern of Britain. Later the princess sent for her father; however, she warned him that an ambush would be waiting for him and his men. Having been forewarned, Hengest attacked first, and the Britons suffered a great defeat. It is possible that the British histories can ultimately be traced to the same source that served as a basis for the Finnsburg poem, namely, a heroic euhemerization of a Germanic Dioscuric legend.

Many additional parallels between these various heroic episodes could be cited. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that the differences between these legends are great, and the more one attempts to reconstruct a common prototype, the more one becomes involved in pure speculation. In view of the inevitable uncertainties, the entire question will have to be left open until new evidence is uncovered.

The Harlungen, Hartungen, and Haddingjar.—A remarkable attempt to explain certain Germanic heroic legends as euhemerizations of Dioscuric myths was undertaken by Karl Müllenhoff.[46] Assuming the description of the priest in Tacitus' report of the *Alcis*[47] (chap. 43), viz., 'adorned as a female' (*muliebri ornatu*), referred primarily to long flowing hair, Müllenhoff posited a dynasty of priest-kings who were characterized and named for their unusually long hair. The name of the Germanic tribe led by the Dioscuric pair Raos and Raptos was, according to Dio Cassius, the *Asdingi*. Müllenhoff assumed that this name was cognate with ON *haddr*, Goth *hazds* 'hair' and that it originally designated not a whole people, but rather a dynasty of long-haired priest-kings. Müllenhoff furthermore contends that the same root is found in the Norse Haddingjar, the twin sons of Arngrímr (*Hydluljod*, 23), who represent heroic manifestations of the Divine Twins. These same twins are reflected in the character of Hadingus (Saxo, V–VIII), the *duo Haddingi* (Saxo XIII, 4), the twin *Haddingjar* of the *Hervarar saga*, and in the figure of Helgi Haddingjaskati. Magnus Olsen contributed supporting evidence to this hypothesis in his study of place-names which attempts to show that Dioscuric cult sites were located in the same area of Scandinavia in which the Haddingjar were reported to have lived.[48]

Müllenhoff also attempted to demonstrate that the legends of the Harlungen and Hartungen were founded on Dioscuric myths. The story of the Harlungen brothers is found in its most complete form in the *Thidreks saga*, although it also occurs in fragmentary form in the *Annals of Quedlinburg*, in the appendix to the *Heldenbuch*, in Saxo, and in *Widsith*. According to the *Thidreks saga*, King Ermanaric is deceived into believing that his nephews Egarð and Aki, the Harlungen, are plotting against him and wish to gain possession of his wife and his crown. He undertakes an expedition against his nephews, besieges the castle, sets it ablaze, and captures the fleeing brothers who are hanged on the spot.

According to Müllenhoff, the legend was founded on the ancient myth of the twin divinities who had been chosen to escort the Sun to the great Sky-God as his bride. Forgetful of their duty, the brothers tried to gain the goddess for themselves and were slain by the Sky-God in his anger.

Müllenhoff's argument is clearly based on a great deal of speculation, and one is tempted to reject the entire hypothesis as untenable. On the other hand, there is evidence that lends support to Müllenhoff. In the *Annals of Quedlinburg*, for example, the two Harlungen are called Embrica and Fritla. The first of these names is evidently identical to *Ambri*, the name of one of the Dioscuric leaders of the Vinniler.[49]

The work of more recent scholars has also strengthened the Müllenhoff hypothesis. For example, R. Much[50] and W. Steinhauser[51] have both adduced etymological evidence that supports the Haddr-Haddingjar-Asdingi relationship, and they have been able to show that Dioscuric traditions were once widespread in the East German area. Similarly, A. H. Krappe has shown that the Harlungen legend was evidently well known in the Breisgau and that related Dioscuric traditions can still be found in the folk legends of that area.[52] Krappe was also able to show that many elements of the Harlungen legend reflected the survivals of an ancient Dioscuric tradition.

Müllenhoff has also seen Dioscuric elements in the traditions involving the German Hartungen, in whom he sees the onomastic as well as mythological counterparts to the Norse Haddingjar. According to Müllenhoff, the essence of the euhemerized myth has been preserved in the Middle High German Ortnit material and in the Ortnit episode in the *Thidreks saga* (417–422). There are essentially two adventures in which Ortnit is the central figure. First there is the adventurous courtship of his bride, and second, the episode in which Ortnit is slain by a dragon. Wolfdietrich then finds the weapons and armor of the fallen hero, and he kills the beast. The second legend also occurs in the *Thidreks saga*, in which Dietrich von Bern appears in the place of Wolfdietrich.

Müllenhoff attempted to reconstruct the original legend by combining the two Ortnit episodes. He assumed that the names of the heroes were originally *Hertnid* and *Hirðir* (Herthere), the Hartungen brothers, who are mentioned in chapter 49 of the Stockholm manuscript of the *Thidreks saga*. Their very names, contends Müllenhoff, reflect the Germanic word for 'hair,' **hazda: Hertnid < *Hazdaniþa: Hirðr < *hazda-harja*. Müllenhoff contends that one cannot fail to recognize the Dioscuric traits:

> Jetzt ist der Dioskurenmythus in der Sage nicht zu verkennen, wenn auch an einzelnen Stellen der Zusammenhang der Ergänzung aus Analogen älterer Sagen bedarf. Der ältere vornehmere Hartung, von dem jüngeren als Hartnit unterschieden, erstreitet gegen ein riesisches, winterliches Geschlecht, die zwölf Junge ein schönes göttliches Weib, das wohl demselben Geschlecht angehörte, aber dem Geliebten im Kampf gegen die übrigen beisteht. Mit seiner goldglänzenden Rüstung angetan verfällt er später einem Drachen, der ihn verschlingt. Der jüngere Hartung, als Hartherc von dem älteren unterschieden, im mhd. Epos durch Wolfdietrich vertreten, erschlägt dann den Drachen, legt die Rüstung und Waffen Harnits an, bändigt und besteigt sein Ross und wird darauf von der trauernden Witwe an des Bruders Statt als Gemahl angenommen.[53]

The entire hypothesis borders on the fantastic.[54] Once again, however, evidence lends unexpected support to the argument. Müllenhoff himself called attention to the Swiss folk legend of the brothers Sintram and Baltram, a pair of young dukes who lived in the castle of Burgdorf.[55] One day while on a hunt the brothers were attacked by a monstrous dragon which swallowed Baltram. Sintram then drew his sword, slew the monster, and cut it open, thus liberating his brother.

It has already been demonstrated in chapter i that names sharing an identical morphological suffix constitute evidence of a Dioscuric relationship. Müllenhoff attempted to show that the names of the pair were identical to *Balder* and *Sinthgunt*, both of whom are mentioned in the Second Merseburg Incantation.[56]

Further support for Müllenhoff is furnished by a South American myth collected recently in Bolivia which bears a remarkable similarity to the Hartungen legend.[57] The myth involves a pair of *Edutzi*, semideities who always appear in pairs and are generally Dioscuric in nature and function. A monstrous flying jaguar devours the first Edutzi. The wife of the first Edutzi then gives birth to a second, who finds the weapons left behind by his slain predecessor. The younger Edutzi uses the weapons to slay the monster and liberates the elder Edutzi.

The relationship between the Ortnit legend and the South American Tacana tale is probably typological rather than genetic in nature. Nevertheless, the similarity between the two legends indicates the possibility that Müllenhoff was correct in his contention that the Hartungen tradition was founded on a Dioscuric myth.

The theory that the Hartungen, Harlungen, and Haddingjar legends are all manifestations of a common Dioscuric tradition has recently been given new support by Georges Dumézil.[58] Dumézil argues convincingly that Saxo's treatment of the saga of Hadingus constitutes a Viking retelling of the careers of the gods Njördr and Freyr. In the euhemerized version Hadding represents Njördr, and Frotho (or sometimes Hunding) represents Freyr. Njördr and Freyr, in turn, represent the Germanic divine pair, counterparts of the Vedic Nāsatyā.

The two phases in the career of Njördr can be discerned, according to Dumézil, in the two phases of Hadding's life. Orphaned as an infant, Hadding was adopted and nursed by the giantess Hathgrepa. He later married her and lived openly and voluptuously with her in a manner recalling the *inceste légitime* that, in Dumézil's opinion, was characteristic of the Vanic deities before their subjugation by Odinn and his followers. The first phase of Hadding's life represents, according to Dumézil, the "Vanic" phase of Njördr's career, when the god was firmly associated with the third function. Later, after the death of Hathgrepa, Hadding married Regnilda and proceeded to lead a normal life. This relationship, contends Dumézil, represented the second phase in the career of Njördr, when the god had become the protégé of Odinn. This transfer from the third to the first function has, according to Dumézil, a parallel in Roman mythology. In the days of their youth, the legendary Romulus and Remus were associated with the care of livestock and agriculture. Later, after the murder of Remus, Romulus became the king of Rome and thus became associated with the first function.

Dumézil also demonstrates that the whole tradition of the femininely attired priest, including the feminine hairdo, is an indication of a cult of fertility. Such changes of sex are often characteristic of the divinities and priests involved with the cults of the Indo-European third function. Dumézil calls attention to another episode in Saxo in which the hero Hadding dons the attire of a female. This episode, according to Dumézil, represents a parallel to the report of the femininely attired priest of Tacitus' *Germania*.

Dumézil also calls attention to the episode in Saxo in which Hunding meets an accidental death by falling into a vat of beer.[59] Upon learning the news of Hunding's fate, Hadding commits suicide by hanging. Dumézil illustrates that the death by drowning in a vat of beer involves a ritual of the third function, whereas the death by hanging involves the first function. Since Odinn, who along with Týr represents the Germanic first function, is the god of hanging, Hadding, by his voluntary death, hopes to be able to join Odinn. Dumézil then draws parallels with the Indo-European tradition, in which one of the divine pair is mortal and the other is immortal. He particularly relates the Germanic episode to the Greek myth in which the mortal Kastor is killed and the immortal Polydeukes volunteers to join him in death, whereupon Zeus agrees to allow the pair to spend alternating days on Olympus and upon earth. Saxo's treatment therefore represents a euhemerization of a Germanic Dioscuric myth in which Freyr dies the ritualistic death of a fertility deity, whereupon Njördr voluntarily hangs himself, hoping to thus gain the favor of Odinn.

The most important and most convincing contribution of Dumézil's study is his argument that the Haddingjar tradition represents a heroic euhemerization of the

careers of Njördr and Freyr. The implications of these findings are many. Dumézil's hypothesis that Njördr and Freyr represent the Germanic equivalents to the Vedic Aśvins gains in stature, as does the entire tripartite interpretation of Germanic mythology. Moreover, the Müllenhoff theories, which are clearly based on a great deal of conjecture, have become increasingly tenable. There are still too many gaps to be filled before one can accept the arguments of Dumézil in toto; nevertheless, his investigations have opened new pathways for which future investigators of Germanic mythology should be grateful.

Regnerus and Thoraldus.—Although it is difficult to locate additional legends involving Hadding and Hunding that could be interpreted as Dioscuric in origin, Saxo II includes a story of their respective children which may represent a Dioscuric tradition. The sons of Hadding, Regnerus and Thoraldus, have a cruel stepmother, Thorhilda, who mistreats them, forcing them to perform humiliating tasks. The lovely *Svanvita* 'Swan-white,' daughter of Hunding, suddenly appears and rescues the brothers. She subsequently marries Regnerus. Of special interest is the figure of Thorhilda, the tormentress. She represents a parallel to Gerlind of *Kudrun* and to the sadistic tormentress of the Indo-European tradition. Indeed the above adventure is remarkably similar to the plot of *Kudrun*, with the exception that the roles of the participants have been reversed. One can conjecture that either Saxo, or his model, had used a Dioscuric theme as a source, and the roles of the mistreated heroine and her liberators were transposed.

The Ynglingar.—Other scholars have attempted to locate Dioscuric themes in Germanic heroic tradition. Hans Naumann, for example, has suggested that there may be a long history of Dioscuric traditions among the Swedish royal dynasty, the Ynglingar.[60] It has already been indicated that this dynasty traced its ancestral line back to Njördr and Freyr, who probably represent the Nordic Divine Twins. Naumann points out that there were several generations of dual kingships within the dynasty: Ingjald and Halfdan, Eystein and Gudröd, Alf and Agnar, Folkvid and Hulvid, Alrik and Airik, Alf and Yngvi, Jörund and Airik, Svipdag and Geigad, among others. The legends associated with some of these pairs as found in the *Ynglingatal* and in the *Ynglinga saga* could be manifestations of ancient Dioscuric myths, although the attempts so far undertaken to establish this connection are not convincing.[61]

The Sons of Halfdan.—To this list Naumann might have added the sons of Halfdan—Helgi and Hroarr—whose father is slain by Frothi.[62] The latter, fearing that the sons might attempt to avenge their father, wants to have them killed. In view of this danger, Regin, the children's tutor, delivers them to the sorcerer Wifil, who lives on an island. Frothi searches the island but cannot find the youths, for they have been instructed to hide every time Wifil calls his dogs Hopp and Ho. The boys have an older sister, Signy, who is married to Jarl Sefil. Wifil sends the boys to Jarl, where they remain incognito under the names Ham and Hrani. Jarl is then invited to Frothi's court and the brothers accompany him. At the court the brothers play the fools, and one of them even rides a horse backward; however, his hat falls to the ground revealing his golden locks, and his sister recognizes him. Frothi then asks a clairvoyant woman the whereabouts of the sons of Halfdan, and she replies that the fools are suspicious because they used to live with Wifil

and their names were Hopp and Ho. Frothi and his men then pursue the youths, but Regin extinguishes the lights, and chaos erupts, enabling the brothers to escape. When Frothi later orders a great drinking bout, the boys burn down the hall, thus avenging the murder of their father. Later Hroarr marries the lovely maiden Ogn. His happiness, however, is short-lived, for he is attacked and slain by the villainous Hrokr who abducts the bride. Helgi then pursues his brother's murderer, defeats him, and thus liberates his beautiful sister-in-law.

The Dioscuric traits of this legend are many. The brothers are raised in exile, they are known by alliterative names (Hopp and Ho, Ham and Hrani), they are associated with animals, and their recognition by the long golden hair may represent the epiphany of the Divine Twins. The fact that they make their escape by casting darkness over their enemies may well reflect a mythological trait of the gods of light. One is reminded of the episode in Saxo's treatment of the Ermanaric legend in which Guthrun helps the brothers avenge their sister by striking Ermanaric and his men with blindness. Moreover, the legend of the abduction and liberation of Ogn is very similar to the one that served as a model for the liberation episode of *Kudrun*. When the theme entered the heroic tradition, the original polyandrous theme had to be changed. Thus only one brother remained married to the heroine, and only one brother performed the liberation.

Saulus and Nicanor.—The late medieval Icelandic tradition includes an adventurous story that bears an amazing resemblance to the Middle High German *Kudrun*, and thus also corresponds in detail to the Indo-European theme of the abduction of the Sun Maiden and her subsequent rescue by the Dioscuri. It is the poem *Saulus and Nicanor*,[63] in which it is told that the maiden Potentiana is abducted by Matteus of Phoygia from her home in Bār. Her brother Nicanor and her betrothed Saulus prepare a ship with twenty men and sail off to liberate the maiden. When they arrive in the land of her abductor, they pass themselves off as musicians. In this guise they are not only able to join in the bridal procession, but are asked by the groom to act as valets for the bridal couple, and are even ordered to be with the newlyweds on the wedding night in the bridal chamber. The liberating pair drug the wine of the groom and replace the bride with a clay figure. They are thus able to make a successful escape in their ships.

It does not require a very keen glance to recognize that this poem has many characteristics of a medieval "Spielmann" epic. It is evident that a Germanic heroic theme found its way into the repertory of the medieval *Spielleute*. I suggest that such a bardic treatment gave rise first to the Middle High German *Kudrun*, later to this Icelandic poem. Moreover, it is shown in chapter ix that the entire tradition of the so-called Kudrun ballads owes its existence to the poetry of the *Spielleute*.

Bárðar saga Snaefellsáss.—A similar adventure is included in the *Bárðar saga*.[64] Two brothers, Thórd and Thorvald, set out to liberate the former's betrothed, who is a prisoner in the cave of Kolbjörn. A stranger named Gest comes to their aid and is later revealed as their half brother. Thórd subsequently leads his bride home.

Egils saga Skallagrimssonar.—In this Icelandic saga there are two pairs of heroic brothers, Thórolfr and Skalla-Grímr, and the sons of the latter, Egill and Thórolfr.

A number of episodes in this saga suggest Dioscuric themes. Two brothers share a single wife—reminiscent of the Indo-European theme of Dioscuric polyandry—and Egill is known for his ability to cure illness. But the most striking parallel with the Dioscuric tradition is the contrast between the brothers. In the older generation Thórolfr represented the light, candid nature, and Skalla-Grímr was of a dark, taciturn nature. This contrast is even more pronounced in the second generation of brothers. Egill is a cruel, adventurous warrior, and Thórolfr is the just, kind, sensitive youth. A similar contrast between brothers occurs so frequently in Icelandic sagas that it would be of little use to cite them all. Often such a contrast is used to explain why members of one strain of a family were essentially warriors and those of another strain essentially farmers.[65] As such, this contrast corresponds precisely to that characterizing the Indo-European Divine Twins, which has been treated in chapter ii. The twin representing the second function is the strong youth, interested in horses and warfare, whereas his brother, who represents the third function, is more restrained, just, and kind, and is interested in cattle and agriculture.

That the Icelanders looked upon the founders of their families as pairs of brothers with contrasting natures can be considered another confirmation of the existence of an Indo-European Dioscuric tradition among early Germanic peoples. This evidence, furthermore, indicates that a social structure similar to that posited by Dumézil for Indo-European society as a whole existed in early Germanic civilization.

The Swan Knight.—In concluding the discussion of the heroic treatment of Dioscuric themes, brief mention should be made of the famed Swan Knight legend of the Middle Ages, which became the subject of an illustrious literary tradition in Germany and France, culminating in Wagner's opera *Lohengrin*.[66] There is no need to compare the variants, for any protean tendencies were held in check by the conservatism of the literary tradition. Usually only the name of the Swan Knight varied, for the legend was adopted to support claims of supernatural origin by several royal houses in the region of the lower Rhine and Belgium. The features common to the different versions of the legend are as follows: At some place on the lower Rhine or some neighboring stream a lady of high station is in dire need of assistance, usually because of a powerful suitor who is importunate and oppressive. A handsome knight suddenly appears in a small boat drawn by a swan attached to a gold or silver chain. As soon as the knight has landed, the swan departs with the boat. The knight offers himself as her champion and protector, and defeats the enemy in a trial combat. The knight then marries the damsel in distress (or in some instances her daughter), but only on condition that she never ask his name or parentage. The taboo is inevitably broken, and the swan reappears with the boat, into which the knight climbs, and he sails away never to be seen again.

Although the theories are many,[67] the origin of the legend remains a mystery. Indeed it is not even certain whether the legend is Germanic or Celtic in origin. No attempt is made here to solve the problem of the prehistory of the legend. A separate monograph would be required for such an undertaking. Nevertheless, the similarity of the legend to the Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins

suggests that a Dioscuric myth may be involved in the early stages of the tradition; for if one were to think of the typical epiphany of the Divine Twins, one might imagine a swan-drawn boat bearing two shining knights who appear suddenly to rescue a maiden in distress. We have already noted that the Nāsatyā, the Divine Twins of the *Rig Veda*, who perform rescues at sea, were reported to have ridden in a vehicle drawn by a swan.

That only one rescuer appears in the medieval legend does not argue against a Dioscuric origin, for the mythological duality would have been awkward in a romance of the Middle Ages, and it is only to be expected that one of the rescuers would be eliminated.

Further evidence that the Swan Knight legend is Dioscuric in origin is provided by some striking corroboration between the rescue episode of *Kudrun* and the Swan Knight tradition. As Kudrun is washing at the shore, a magnificent bird, conceivably a swan, swims up and addresses her. Revealing himself as an angel, he announces the coming of Ortwein and Herwig who are to liberate the heroine (*Kudrun*, 1165–1193). The Swan Knight motif is at least adumbrated here, and the same mythical configuration seems to underlie both episodes: swan / boat / rescuer(s) who arrive(s) by sea / damsel in distress. This configuration unquestionably belongs to the Indo-European Dioscuric tradition. There are a number of additional striking parallels between the Swan Knight tradition and *Kudrun*, all of which have been delineated by Wolfgang Jungandreas[68] and need not be repeated here.

If it is true that a single Indo-European mythological theme underlies both the rescue episode of Kudrun and the Swan Knight legend, the question remains whether it was a Germanic or Celtic reflex of the myth which developed into the Swan Knight tradition. No attempt has been made to answer this question here.

In concluding this investigation of the possible heroic manifestations of the Germanic Divine Twins, it should be stressed again that Germanic heroic poetry presents an extremely knotty problem in this context. Since many of themes associated with the Dioscuric tradition—e.g., fraternal piety, liberation—occur frequently in heroic literature, the investigator must guard against the temptation of interpreting each such theme as evidence of a Dioscuric myth. Although caution was exerted at every point, some of the above hypotheses, admittedly, border on speculation.

VIII
MISCELLANEOUS EVIDENCE OF THE GERMANIC DIVINE TWINS

The Epiphany of the Twins.—In discussing the Indo-European Dioscuric tradition in chapter ii, I noted that various pairs of Indo-European divinities were especially renowned for their frequent appearance among men. They were reported to have wandered among mortals, and their sudden appearance struck terror into the hearts of the enemy, or produced joy among those to whom aid was to be granted.[1]

Among Germanic peoples the Divine Twins were likewise known for their frequent incarnate appearance among men. Such an epiphany usually signified either a divine blessing upon or an ominous admonition to whomever was singled out by the twins. For example, in Stanza 21 of the *Reginsmál*, when asked what are the auspicious signs for battle, Hnikar replies that it is a good sign if one sees two warriors "greedy of fame" before one's house before battle. The apparition of the warriors evidently represents the epiphany of the twins who grant divine aid in battle.

One of the more remarkable examples of the miraculous appearance of a pair of supernatural helpers is to be found in the Icelandic *Göngu-Hrólfssaga*.[2] Earl Thorgný is attacked by Tryggvi at a time when most of the Earl's army is away on a campaign. Thorgný is killed and his men are about to be completely overrun by the besieging armies when there suddenly appears a pair of mysterious strangers whose faces are covered. The two strangers attack furiously driving off the besieging army. The rescuing heroes then return to their ships and sail away as mysteriously as they arrived. There can be little doubt that this episode is a variant of the Indo-European myth of the Divine Twins who provide divine aid in battle.

Another example of the epiphany of the twins is preserved in a folk legend from the German Alsace. The legend tells of Kuno Eckbrecht, who owned two Alsatian castles, Winstein and Schönbeck. While Kuno was residing at Schönbeck, the enemy attacked both castles simultaneously. Kuno was enjoying considerable success in defending his position when two shining, youthful knights appeared mysteriously and informed Kuno that his other castle, Winstein, was likewise under attack and he would have to come to its aid immediately or it would fall. The youths then disappeared. As a result of the warning, Kuno was able to gather a force together and attack the besiegers of his second castle, and thereby save it from destruction. According to the legend, the two shining youths still appear from time to time around the ruins of Winstein.[3]

Similarly, at the ruins of a castle at Aarwangen, Switzerland, there mysteriously appears from time to time, between 11 P.M. and midnight, a pair of brothers in a carriage drawn by two white steeds.[4]

The historic account (Dio Cassius, 55.1.3) of the death of the Roman general Drusus, who died while on a campaign in German territory, may likewise contain elements of a Germanic Dioscuric legend involving the epiphany of the twins. When Drusus reached the Elbe, he encountered a mysterious Germanic woman who called the general insatiable and told him that his hour had come. Drusus turned around and headed homeward, but he died before he reached the Rhine. While he lay dying, some strange occurrences were observed in and around his camp. The wolves came from all around and howled, two mysterious youths suddenly appeared on horseback and rode through the camp, the lamenting cries of a woman were heard, and the stars became dislodged from their orbits. The contention that the legend of Drusus' death was based on a Germanic tradition is supported by a number of parallel examples adduced by Hans Naumann showing that the clairvoyant woman who delivers her ominous admonition at water's edge is a traditional Germanic figure.[5]

This configuration of two young heroes and a clairvoyant woman is found elsewhere in Germanic heroic tradition, namely, in the legend of Gambara and her sons Ibor and Aio. Here, too, the triad of figures was associated with the Germanic Divine Twins.[6] Similarly, the figures of the Norse Guthrun and her sons Hamdir and Sörli may represent another example of this configuration. In Saxo's treatment of this legend, Guthrun was specifically called a sorceress.

A similar epiphany of the twins was reported in Gregory of Tours' account (II, 31) of the battle of Poitiers in which Chlodwig defeated the Goths and continued to pursue them in their retreat until he overtook them and slew the Gothic king Alarich. Suddenly and mysteriously there appeared two young men before Chlodwig, and they cast spears into his side. Fortunately, his armor and swift steed enabled Chlodwig to escape the attack. Naumann is probably correct when he interprets this episode as the "first act" of a Dioscuric legend in which the appearance of the Divine Twins constituted an ominous warning to the king not to continue. The "second act" was not included, according to Naumann, because the biographer had wished to glorify the triumph over the Goths.[7]

Naumann has called attention to similar legends which have found their way into church histories and biographies. For example, in chapter 14 of his *Martinsvita*, Sulpicius Severus describes St. Martin's attack on the heathen temple at Levroux. Having been driven off by the outraged peasants, Martin prayed for help in his mission. Suddenly there appeared two angels armed with shields, spears, and helmets. They led the battle against the peasants and helped Martin to destroy the temple. Although Martin's biographer calls the miraculous helpers "angels," their appearance in armor certainly represents a curious apparition for the messengers of God. Naumann is probably correct when he contends that this legend constitutes a striking example of religious syncretism.[8] The epiphany of the heathen twins was evidently used by the Church to illustrate the superiority of Christianity over the heathen religion.

A similar example is contained in Bishop Arbeo of Freising's eighth-century biography of St. Emmeran, which contains a report of an event described by the author as "uncanny." After having been mutilated and dismembered, Emmeran was buried by peasants beneath a hawthorn bush, the belief being that this plant

would help his body to be rejoined. Shortly thereafter, two mysterious and unusually handsome strangers appeared and asked for directions to the hawthorn bush. Arbeo stressed that the men were not angels when he declared that he knew not who or what they were. The men were never seen again, but when the peasants returned to the burial site, Emmeran's remains were no longer there.

The appearance of the two handsome youths was evidently considered an uncanny, even sacred, occurrence, although even Bishop Arbeo did not consider the event a Christian miracle. It should be remembered that the Divine Twins were traditionally associated with the powers of healing and well-being, and thus could be called upon to resuscitate the dismembered remains of the martyr. One is reminded of the legend associated with the death of King Arthur as reported by Layamon, who wrote that as Arthur lay dying of his wounds, a small boat suddenly appeared bearing two wonderously clad young women who carried Arthur to the boat and then sailed away with him to Avalon, where the wounds were to be healed. It is conceivable that both legends are founded on a Dioscuric theme involving the epiphany of the Divine Twins.

There is additional evidence that the Christian church made use of local Dioscuric traditions in its attempt to convert the heathens to Christianity. For example, the Church evidently introduced various pairs of saints to replace the local cults dedicated to the worship of the Divine Twins.

The Divine Twins as Christian Saints.—In general, studies that have attempted to show a continuity between the worship of pagan deities and the worship of Christian saints take far too simplified a view of the problem. All too often investigators have assumed that the worship of a certain pagan deity was automatically transferred in its entirety to a Christian saint at the time of the conversion. Actually, the problem is frequently far more complex, and instead of the pagan tradition forming the very basis for the worship of the saints, one finds that the two traditions generally overlap only at the periphery.[9]

With regard to the Divine Twins, however, a number of brilliant studies have been able to demonstrate an amazing continuity in the development from the pagan deities to the Christian saints.[10]

The number of such pairs, some of whom are specifically called twins, is, in itself, striking. For example, there are Florus and Laurus, Kastoulous and Polyeuctes (i.e., Kastor and Polydeukes), Polyeuctes and Nearchus, Cosmas and Damian, Sebastian and Rochus, Johannes and Philippus, Protasius and Gervasius, to mention but a few. In some instances such pairs are associated with a third member, frequently a sister, thus forming a Dioscuric triad; for example, Pol, Marc, and their sister Sicofolle; or Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianella; or Sissinius, Sinninodorus, and Melitene.

The traits and functions of these twin saints correspond almost precisely to the traits and functions of the Indo-European Divine Twins as outlined in chapter ii. Such saints are frequently associated with horses,[11] and are even envisioned on horseback with stars over their heads.[12] Like the Vedic Aśvins, their very names often reflect this association; for example, Pol, Marc, and Sicofolle; Speusippe, Elasippe, and Melesippe. They are the patron saints of physicians, and they themselves are thought of as miraculous healers.[13] They are also patrons of the oath,

and they punish those who are guilty of perjury.[14] Such saints are also associated with fertility, for they are invoked to promote sexual vigor, they give a child to the aged couple,[15] and their relics are used in rites to produce rain.[16] Like their heathen counterparts, the twin saints are associated with lights,[17] and are even called the "Twin Lamps of Heaven."[18] The themes of Dioscuric myths are, moreover, reflected in saints' legends. For example, twin saints are said to perform rescues at sea,[19] and they liberate their sister from a tower in which she was held captive by a monster.[20] They are also reported to have avenged their maltreated mother.[21] Like their mythological precursors, they are invoked to help defeat enemy armies, for their very appearance can strike terror into the hearts of the enemy.[22] Finally, one encounters even the traditional Dioscuric idols in the aniconic pillars that mark the grave of a pair of twin saints in Spain.[23]

These examples, which could be multiplied, represent an impressive body of evidence showing detailed agreement between the Graeco-Roman Dioscuric tradition and the Christian tradition of twin saints. Thus it can be asserted with relative certainty that, at least in this instance, the pagan tradition forms the very core of the Christian tradition. One can be assured not only of a continuity of the Dioscuric tradition during the period of conversion to Christianity, but also of a continuity of the entire Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins from the ancient period of original unity right up to modern times.

A number of these saints were also known by German peoples who invoked the pairs to perform many of the functions listed above. Especially popular with the Germans were such figures as Cosmas and Damian, Sebastian and Rochus, Prostasius and Gervasius. These pairs were not only revered within the framework of the Christian church, but they also became the objects of peasant religious cults that functioned independently of the Church.[24] There arises, at this point, a question of some importance to this investigation: Does this worship of twin saints in Germany represent a borrowing from the Mediterranean tradition or a continuation of the Germanic tradition of the Divine Twins? If there were an essential difference between the Mediterranean and Germanic Dioscuric traditions, this question would not be difficult to answer. One would be able to isolate those elements that were Germanic from those that were Graeco-Roman and thereby determine the essential nature of the saints in question. But this investigation has already demonstrated that the characteristics of the Divine Twins are nearly identical throughout the entire Indo-European tradition. In view of these similarities, the investigator can never be certain whether the German cults represent a Germanic / Christian syncretism, or a Graeco-Roman / Christian syncretism that was then adopted in Germany.

One can, however, speculate on the problem. It has already been established that the Germanic peoples worshipped their own pairs of twin divinities up to and possibly beyond the time of their conversion. When one considers the readiness with which the German peasants accepted the Christian saints into their religious life, one can assume that this acceptance was possible only because of the underlying foundation of a Dioscuric tradition in the heathen religion. It is quite probable that the Church itself had introduced the twin saints in the attempt to offer a surrogate for the heathen divinities. Indeed, the episode in Severus'

Martinsvita cited above evidently reflects a Dioscuric legend that was used by the Church in an attempt to convince the peasants of the superiority of the Christian religion. That is, the Church evidently attempted to give the peasants a concrete example to illustrate that even the heathen deities were on the side of the Christian God. At a later period, when the Church was attempting to eradicate the remnants of the heathen religion, they found that the Mediterranean Christian saints were ideally equipped with the traits and functions that would enable them to function as substitutes for the German Divine Twins. By introducing these saints to the people, the Church actually helped to preserve the ancient tradition of the Indo-European Divine Twins right up to modern times.

IX
DIOSCURIC THEMES IN POPULAR ORAL TRADITION

The Folktale.—Although the popular folktale offers an abundance of themes and motifs that apparently could support an attempt to isolate an Indo-European Dioscuric tradition, this material presents difficulties that make its usefulness for this purpose questionable. These difficulties can be best understood when one compares the folktale to the evidence that was adduced in chapter vii in the attempt to isolate a specific Indo-European theme (Kudrun theme). Although elements of the Kudrun theme were found in a variety of sources covering a wide geographic distribution, there was no evidence that the theme had diffused to these widely separated areas by means of oral tradition. Thus, the only tenable explanation was that the theme had once been a part of a corpus of Indo-European mythology, and as such, it was carried by the various peoples to the new homeland.

The distribution of the folktale, on the other hand, requires a different explanation. When one discovers many variants of a single tale-type distributed over a wide geographic area, it is relatively certain that the tale had been transmitted from land to land, from continent to continent, over a period of centuries. Moreover, it has been established that neither linguistic nor cultural boundaries have been able to offer a significant hindrance to the spread of most folktales. It should be emphasized that this diffusion process does not preclude the possibility that a specific tale-type was once the exclusive property of a specific linguistic group, but it does render impossible any attempt to prove such an origin.

It is quite possible, for example, that the famous *Two Brothers* tale (AaTh 303) was once an Indo-European Dioscuric theme that later developed into a popular folktale; however, the very distribution of the many variants of this tale[1] makes it impossible to establish such a theory with certainty. Similarly, the tale of the *Faithful Servant* (AaTh 516) reveals some traits reminiscent of the Indo-European tradition. A. H. Krappe has pointed out variants in which the brother, instead of the servant, sacrifices himself for the hero. Krappe conjectures that these variants represent the prototype of the tale, which in turn had developed from a Dioscuric myth.[2]

Of special interest is subtype 516B, *The Abducted Princess*, in which the brother liberates the hero's bride from captivity. This tale, which has frequently been absorbed into other tale-types, has a relatively limited distribution,[3] and could conceivably represent a popularization of a Dioscuric theme. This contention is supported by the fact that the *Faithful Servant* tale shares a number of motifs with the Norse *Skirnismál* and with the Indic *Rāmāyāṇa*, both of which have been posited as possible manifestations of Dioscuric myths.[4]

Krappe has also investigated the French medieval epic *Valentin et Orson*, and by showing many parallels with various universal Dioscuric myths, he argues convincingly that the epic was based on a folktale, which, in turn, was based on a Dioscuric myth.[5] Even if one accepts Krappe's argument in toto, however, there is no evidence that enables one to conclude that the Dioscuric myth upon which the epic was founded was exclusively an Indo-European myth. Such a conclusion can only be reached when one finds elements of a mythological theme restricted to the traditions of Indo-European peoples. Such was the situation in the investigation of the Kudrun theme. It was possible to posit this theme as Indo-European in origin only because it had never become part of popular oral tradition.[6] In the themes from *Valentin et Orson* as well as the themes from popular folktales, one is confronted with motifs and motif complexes that are nearly universal in their distribution. This distribution renders any attempt to posit a specific origin almost impossible.

The Folk Legend.—When the Brothers Grimm first turned their attention to folk legends, there prevailed the hope that this bulk of material would provide a new body of source material for the study of Germanic religion and mythology. These hopes were, for the most part, never fufilled. With the exception of a few legendary themes, the episodes and the creatures of the popular legend could not be associated with the divinities and myths of the Germanic peoples.[7]

In view of the lack of mythological material in the popular legend, one should not be surprised to learn that this body of material fails to provide a fruitful source for the study of the Germanic Divine Twins. Nevertheless, several legends do constitute notable exceptions. Among these is the legend mentioned in chapter vi in which a count who, when near death, summoned his two sons and bestowed upon the one, a sword, and upon the other, a plow. This legend evidently reflects the belief in the separate functions of the twin divinities of the Indo-European tradition. Additional legends in which the mysterious appearance of two youths constitutes either an auspicious sign or an ominous warning have been treated in the above discussion of the epiphany of the twins, where it has been concluded that these legends, too, represent survivals of the belief in the Germanic Dioscuri. Although there are many more German folk legends in which the protagonists are a pair of heroic brothers, this element in itself is not sufficient to permit one to assume a Dioscuric origin.[8]

The Popular Ballad.—There are several groups of related European ballads in which a maiden is envisioned washing clothes at a shore (*var.* fountain) when two men in a boat (*var.* one man on horseback), who are the husband and/or brother of the damsel in distress, approach and liberate the maiden from her captivity. It is evident that these ballads treat the same theme as occurs in the Middle High German *Kudrun*, a theme that has been shown to be founded on an Indo-European myth. Thus it is conceivable that a Dioscuric myth had entered popular tradition, perhaps by way of a heroic lay. On the other hand, among the majority of scholars who have worked with these ballads, the belief prevails that this tradition can be traced directly to the Kudrun epic.[9]

The most fascinating of the Kudrun ballads are those that were known to most of the 25,000 Germans living in the German speech island of Gottschee in the

Slavin-Krain area of present-day Yugoslavia. The ballads were first collected by the German philologist K. J. Schröer in 1869 and later published by Adolf Hauffen.[10]

The heroine of these ballads is "Die schöne Meererin," who arises early in the morning: "Bi wriə (Wie früh) ischt auf də Merarin." She goes down to the sea to wash clothes, and she sees two men approaching in a boat. One of them takes off his ring and offers it to the girl: "Nim hin du scheanə Merarin." She rejects the ring: "I pins et (nicht) dai scheanə Merarin, / I pin jo dai bintlbascherin (Windelwäscherin)." But the men insist, and she climbs into their boat and sails away with them over the wide sea to a place where she is greeted and embraced, evidently by her family from whom she has been separated.

In several variants of the ballad, the two men in the boat are identified as the brother and the husband of the captive girl.[11] This same relationship between the girl and her liberators occurs in *Kudrun*. Such similarities between the epic and the ballad have led investigators to conclude that the Gottschee ballads are dependent on *Kudrun*, the settlers who populated Gottschee having brought a popularized version of the epic with them.[12]

In an excellent study of the relation of the popular ballads to *Kudrun*, the Hispanist Ramón Menéndez Pidal investigated sixty published, and many unpublished, variants of the Spanish ballad "Don Bueso," named after the hero who liberates his sister from captivity.[13]

The "Don Bueso" ballads show a remarkable stability; the variants differ from one another chiefly by the inclusion or omission of relatively unimportant motifs. The ballad reports that a young princess is captured by the Moors and is given to the Moorish queen, who fears that her husband is falling in love with the captive. Thus, in an attempt to cause the beauty of the maiden to fade, the queen assigns her a number of cruel and harsh tasks, including washing linens and silks in a fountain or a stream in the middle of winter. Don Bueso, meanwhile, rides out seeking a bride. He finds the maiden washing the queen's clothes at dawn, and he greets her. She reveals to him that she is a captive of the Moors, and he suggests that she ride away with him. She agrees, but only if he promises not to defile her innocence. She throws the washing into the water, saving the most valuable articles for herself. As they ride into the land of her birth, she recognizes the landscape of her childhood. Don Bueso then recognizes her as his long-lost sister. When they arrive home the mother believes she is greeting her daughter-in-law, and is overcome with joy to learn that it is her own daughter.

There is another group of ballads that are commonly known as the "Südeli" ballads after the name of the heroine in a group of variants. These ballads, found chiefly in Germany and Holland,[14] differ from the "Meererin" and "Don Bueso" ballads essentially in that the heroine is not washing clothes when her liberator(s) arrive, but rather is working at an inn. Sometimes an introduction is included which reports that the maiden was stolen while still a child by a merchant who leaves her with an innkeeper. A knight arrives at the inn and is served by the maiden. Later the woman innkeeper forces the maiden to spend the night with the distinguished guest. When the maiden begins shedding tears, the knight swears not to defile her innocence. He places his sword between himself and the maiden

at night to help insure that his vow will not be broken. After a recognition scene, the brother leads his lost sister home again.

A similar group of ballads has been collected throughout Scandinavia,[15] where one finds some variants in which the liberation takes place at the shore where the maiden is washing clothes, and others in which she is liberated from the inn where she was held captive.

In the Scandinavian, as in the Südeli, ballads, there is sometimes a single rescuer, and sometimes two or more. Menéndez Pidal has argued convincingly that the duality of the rescuers is primary in these ballads, and that the *Zersingen* process reduced the number to one in many variants. Sometimes it was the brother who was eliminated, sometimes the husband; however, after having established this point, Menéndez Pidal continues his investigation by attempting to show that the ballad texts, without exception, owe their existence to the German epic. Although Pidal, who bases some of his findings on the previously cited monograph by Kübel[16] points out many close parallels between the epic and the ballads that lend support to his hypothesis, he is by no means able to solve the problem.

In a recent article, my colleague Franz Bäuml and I have thrown new light on the problem.[17] By adducing new material, including ballads that have never before been introduced into Kudrun scholarship, we show that the ballads belong to a tradition that predates the epic. This does not necessarily mean that the ballads themselves are older than the epic, but merely that the Middle High German *Kudrun* and the ballad tradition may have developed from a common ancestor. Relying heavily on a study by Ingeborg Schröbler,[18] we conclude that this common ancestor was a Spielmann's treatment of the theme of the abduction and rescue of the young heroine. This bardic narrative predated and gave rise to both the epic and the ballad tradition.[19]

X

CONCLUSIONS

As the title indicates, this investigation was undertaken to establish whether the Germanic peoples once knew the Indo-European tradition of the Divine Twins. In attempting to accomplish this task, the following points were established.

The worship of the divine twins is a universal phenomenon, and the religious concepts, the functions, and the mythological themes associated with such pairs reveal a remarkable similarity throughout the world. This universality of the phenomenon makes it difficult to isolate a specific Dioscuric tradition. Nevertheless, in considering the various twin divinities that occur among Indo-European-speaking peoples, a clearly identifiable tradition can be isolated; for, although many of the traits and functions shared by the Indo-European pairs are universal, there are many more that are exclusively Indo-European. Moreover, even with regard to the universal traits, the various pairs of Divine Twins within the Indo-European tradition reveal an agreement too striking to be explained in terms of a universal religious phenomenon. Thus the Divine Twins, sons of the Sky-God, brothers of the Sun Maiden, were well-defined deities of the Proto-Indo-European pantheon and were carried by the various migrating peoples to the new homelands where the religious concept changed remarkably little through the centuries in the new environments.

Since several peoples who spoke languages related to the Indo-European language shared a nearly identical concept of the Divine Twins, one might expect Germanic mythology to contain elements of this tradition. An investigation of Norse mythology, however, reveals that there is not a single pair of divinities in this tradition which represents a precise parallel to the Indo-European Divine Twins. There are, however, various pair of gods who fulfill Dioscuric functions to varying degrees. Of these, Njörðr and Freyr are the pair for whom the most convincing evidence can be adduced in support of their relationship with the Indo-European Dioscuric tradition.

Although the evidence contained in Norse mythology is inconclusive, there are other sources that confirm the existence of a significant tradition of the Divine Twins among Germanic-speaking peoples. The most convincing single piece of evidence is found in chapter 43 of Tacitus' *Germania*. The passage describes in relative detail a service held in honor of the Alcis, a pair of youthful divinities whom Tacitus explicitly equates with the Roman Castor and Pollux.

Archaeological evidence confirms the report by Tacitus and points to a relatively widespread Dioscuric cult among Germanic peoples. A richer source for this tradition is to be found, however, in the histories and chronicles that report on the various pairs of legendary dual kings who allegedly led their respective Germanic tribes on migrations. This entire complex of dual kings owes its exist-

ence to the tradition of the Germanic Divine Twins. Furthermore, some of the exploits of these kings are founded on Dioscuric mythological themes that are shared by other Indo-European peoples.

It was during the great upheavals of the migrations that some profound changes in the religion of Germanic peoples took place. The contact with Mediterranean civilizations caused the pantheon of Germanic gods to disintegrate. It was during this period that the Divine Twins, as well as the myths associated with them, underwent the process of euhemerization and became part of the heroic tradition. Among the farmers and herdsmen, however, the Dioscuric fertility cults continued to function for centuries thereafter.

Various themes in Germanic heroic tradition reveal a possible Dioscuric origin: the legend of Ermanaric's death, the Haddingjar legend, and others. Frequently, however, the evidence in support of such interpretations is inconclusive. In the rescue episode of the Middle High German epic *Kudrun*, one encounters a motif complex corresponding in every detail to a Dioscuric theme that can be isolated from various Indo-European mythologies. Since there is no indication that this theme had spread to the widely separated areas by way of popular oral tradition, it is evident that it had been part of the mythologies of the various peoples who migrated from the Indo-European homeland.

Although certain folktales contain elements reminiscent of Dioscuric myths, the very nature of this material makes it difficult to prove a mythological origin. More important, the very history of the diffusion of the folktale renders untenable any attempt to attribute the material to a single language family. Therefore, with few exceptions, European and Asian folktales do not offer reliable data for this investigation.

Similarly, the popular legend, in general, does not represent a reliable source, for such legends rarely contain ancient mythological motifs. There are, however, a few isolated examples of legends that have retained the belief in the epiphany of the Divine Twins. These legends have enabled the belief in the twins to survive long after the introduction of Christianity.

The Christian church, moreover, paradoxically contributed to the survival of Dioscuric beliefs. In the hope of accelerating the eradication of surviving Dioscuric cults, the Church introduced various pairs of saints into Germany. Since these pairs of saints had already inherited their roles from the Mediterranean Divine Twins, who performed many of the same functions as the Germanic twins, they were well suited for the task assigned them by the Church. Among the German peasants the cults of the twin saints survived right up to modern times.

Although the popular ballad, like the folktale, does not constitute a fully reliable source for mythological themes, several groups of ballads do treat the same Indo-European theme that occurs in the Middle High German epic *Kudrun*. Most scholars who have worked with this problem have assumed the ballad tradition was founded on the epic. A comparison of the ballads with the epic, however, makes it clear that this was not the case. Instead, a Dioscuric theme, which had been part of Germanic heroic tradition, was adopted by the German *Spielmann* tradition, where it became contaminated with a Mediterranean theme. It was such a *Spielmann* poem that served as a model for the author of *Kudrun* and also gave rise to the ballad tradition.

If the above findings are valid, they suggest a number of considerations that have a bearing on various fields of study. The results imply that elements of an ancient religion can, under certain conditions, be reconstructed in a manner analogous to linguistic reconstructions. Moreover, the fact that a cultural item of the Germanic peoples has been shown to be essentially Indo-European implies that Germanic culture is, at least in part, Indo-European.

In addition, the results of this study indicate that a mythological tradition can be subjected to the process of euhemerization and thus become incorporated into the heroic tradition. This implies that in certain Germanic heroes one can look for the survivals of Germanic gods, and in themes of heroic poetry one can expect to find older mythological themes. These heroic themes, in turn, can be adopted by the popular ballad tradition. Altogether these findings imply a remarkable continuity of a mythological theme from ancient times to the present.

NOTES

Introduction

[1] "Spaltung, Schichtung und Mischung im germanischen Heidentum," *Vom Werden des deutschen Geistes. Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann*, P. Merker and W. Stammler, eds. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1925), p. 15.

[2] "Gothic Aibr," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, LXII (1963), 719 n. 1.

[3] *Die Götter der Germanen* (Tübingen, 1938), p. 221.

I: Universal Dioscurism

[1] See the bibliography under the heading "Universal Dioscurism." The term "Dioscuri" is the Latin form of the Greek "Dioskouroi," which refers to Kastor and Polydeukes, the sons of Zeus. The Latin forms (Dioscuri, Dioscuric, Dioscurism) are frequently employed to refer to divine twins in general and are so used in this investigation. The Greek form "Dioskouroi" is used exclusively to designate the Spartan pair Kastor and Polydeukes.

[2] Cf. Jan de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1956), II, 245–246: "Es braucht kaum betont zu werden, dass wir eine religiöse Vorstellung, die sich in fast allen Teilen der Welt findet, nicht richtig erklären können, wenn wir nur die Zeugnisse einiger indogermanischer Völker auf einer schon vorgeschrittenen Stufe ihrer Zivilisation berücksichtigen. Wir müssen . . . die weitverbreiteten Anschauungen, die sich an die Geburt menschlicher Zwillinge knüpfen, in Betracht ziehen."

[3] Edwin M. Loeb, "The Twin Cult in the Old and New World," *Miscellanea Paul Rivet Octogenario Dicata* (Mexico City, 1958), I, 168–171.

[4] For examples from various ethnographic sources, see Leo Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult im Lichte der Ethnologie," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LXI (1929), 167–169; Alexander H. Krappe, *Mythologie universelle* (Paris, 1930), p. 65; and Loeb, "The Twin Cult," p. 173.

[5] Brüder Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, Zwei Bände in einem Band (Berlin, 1956), p. 493.

[6] *Deutsche Sagen*, p. 584. Lines 38–42 of the twelfth-century poem of Marie de France, *Le Frêne*, express precisely these same thoughts.

[7] Padre Arriaga, *La extirpacion de la idolatria del Piru* (Lima, 1821), cited in Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 65.

[8] Loeb, *The Twin Cult*, p. 173. See p. 152 for additional examples.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[10] Edwin M. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Americana Germanica, XVIII (Philadelphia, 1915), no. 1910.

[11] Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," p. 166.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Ad. E. Jensen, *Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern* (Wiesbaden, 1951), p. 341.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

[15] Alfred Métraux, "Twin Heroes in South American Mythology," *Journal of American Folklore*, LIX (1946), 114. See also Ad. E. Jensen, *Mythos und Kult*, pp. 158–159, who links this difference with the dualistic nature of American culture.

[16] For parallel examples, see Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," pp. 167–169; J. R. Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, 1906), pp. 43–49; and Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, pp. 64–66.

[17] Jane Belo, "A Study of Customs Pertaining to Twins in Bali," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, LXXV (1935), 502. A number of investigators (e.g., Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," pp. 188–193; Harris, *The Cult*, p. 141; Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, pp. 79–80) have assumed that the many Dioscuric traditions in which the twins are abandoned as children can be attributed to such practices. The motif of abandonment, however, is found not only in traditions of divine twins, but also in other myths, legends, and folktales. Thus it is difficult to establish a relationship between the actual practice and the mythological theme.

[18] Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," p. 188. For additional examples, see P. Saintyves, "Les jumeaux dans l'ethnographie et la mythologie," *Revue Anthropologique*, XXXV (1925), 265.

[19] See J. R. Harris, *Boanerges* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 51–66; Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 57; and Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," pp. 187–189, for countless ethnographic examples.

[20] Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," pp. 168, 187–193; Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, pp. 79–80.

[21] J. R. Harris has devoted an entire study to this problem, *The Piety of the Twins* (Cambridge, 1928). For ethnographic parallels, see Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 80.

[22] Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 60. Symbolic magic is likewise noted in the American belief that the eating of twin apples, or twin fruits of any kind, will induce the birth of twins. See *Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, Popular Beliefs and Superstitions*, ed. W. D. Hand (Durham, N.C., 1961), VI, 29, no. 158. Likewise, planting in the sign of "The Twins" is calculated to double the yield (*ibid.*), VII, 514, no. 8066; 532, no. 8206, *passim*.

[23] Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 60.

[24] Loeb, *The Twin Cult*, p. 153.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 166.

[26] H. J. Kissling, "Über religiöses Brauchtum in der Cuqur Ova," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1961), pp. 41–45.

[27] Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 60.

[28] James G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (London, 1932), I, 265–266. See also Frazer's *Apollodorus. The Library* (London, 1921), II, 377–378, for ethnographic data showing how twins the world over are known for their ability to produce rain. For additional parallels, see Loeb, *The Twin Cult*, pp. 167–168.

[29] Belo, "Twins in Bali," p. 520.

[30] Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," p. 171.

[31] Frazer, *Apollodorus*, II, 377–378; Loeb, *The Twin Cult*, pp. 153–167; Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 78.

[32] The following is my own adaptation of the scheme of Harris, *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, pp. 60–61.

[33] See Loeb, *The Twin Cult*, p. 167, for ethnographic parallels.

[34] Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 84.

[35] For further examples, see *ibid.*, p. 86.

[36] See Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," p. 157, for additional ethnographic evidence.

[37] Loeb, *The Twin Cult*, p. 167.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 166.

[39] E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, Publications of the Folk-Lore Society, LXV, LXVII (London, 1909), I, 22.

[40] Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," p. 165.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[42] Norbert Wagner, "Dioskuren, Jungmannschaften und Doppelkönigtum," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXIX (1960), 1–17, 225–247.

[43] J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligion* (Basel, 1867), p. 70. See also Loeb, *The Twin Cult*, p. 168.

[44] Wagner, "Dioskuren," pp. 235–236; Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," p. 164.

[45] *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland* (Halle, 1923), p. 258.

[46] See, for example, L. von Schroeder, *Arische Religion* (Leipzig, 1916), II, 438–458.

[47] A dissenter, however, is Leo Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," pp. 188–200.

[48] *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 29.

[49] *Mythologie universelle*, p. 82.

[50] "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, VII (1875), 329.

II: The Indo-European Divine Twins

[1] See A. A. Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strasbourg, 1897).

[2] Most of the legendary twins occurring in Greece probably have little to do with the Indo-European tradition. For a thorough treatment of all such pairs, see S. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (Christiania, 1902).

[3] For a complete list of the sources, see Karl Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern* (Published Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1907).

[4] See Maurice Albert, *Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* (Paris, 1883).

[5] For a systematic listing and critical evaluation of the Baltic sources, see H. Biezais, "Die Religionsquellen der baltischen Völker," *Ārv*, IX (1953), 64–128.

[6] Marija Gimbutas, "The Ancient Religion of the Balts," *Lituanus*, VIII, 97–109. See also, by the same author, *The Balts* (London, 1963), pp. 179–204.

[7] The earliest mention of a Baltic song is found in the thirteenth-century *Chronicon Henrici Livoniae*, translated by James Brundage, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* (Madison, Wis., 1961). The oldest daina preserved in writing is a quatrain of magic words recorded in a witch trial in 1584. See Ojārs Krātiņš, "An Unsung Hero: Krišjānis Barons and his lifework in Latvian Folk Songs," *Western Folklore*, XX (1961), 239–255.

[8] See A. Svābe, "Tautas dziesmu likteņi," *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*, eds. A. Svābe, K. Straubergs, E. Hauzenberga-Šturma (Copenhagen) 1952, I, v–xxxii.

[9] Gimbutas, "The Ancient Religion of the Balts," p. 98.

[10] Václav Machek, "The Origin of the Aśvins," *Archiv Orientální*, XV (1946), 414–416, contends that the twins are really the sons of Indra, since the latter is, in his opinion, the anthropomorphic manifestation of *Dyaus*, 'the Sky.' The argument is not convincing.

[11] *RV* 1.117.12; 1.182.1; 1.184.1; 3.38.5; 4.44.2; 10.61.4.

[12] *Greek Hero Cults* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 182–184.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[14] This problem is discussed in greater detail in the section "Dual Paternity."

[15] The Latvian *Dievs* is also called *Debess tevs*, 'Father of the Sky.' See M. Jonval, *Les chansons mythologiques lettonnes* (Paris, 1929), p. 36. See also, Grace Hopkins, *Indo-European *deiwos and Related Words* (Published PhD. dissertation, Yale University, 1932). The Baltic word has been borrowed by the Finns and Estonians (Finn. *taivas*, Est. *taevas* 'the sky'). See P. Schmidt, "Die Mythologie der Letten," in *Die Letten*, ed. Fr. Adamovičs et al. (Riga, 1930), pp. 196–197. See also, A. Senn, "Zu litauisch *diẽvas* 'Gott' und Finnish *taivas* 'Himmel,'" *Die Sprache*, I (1949), 1–10.

[16] In some of the Baltic songs more than one Daughter of the Sun is mentioned.

[17] See Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge*, p. 25.

[18] See J. R. Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, 1906), p. 75; S. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge*, p. 27; Biezais, "Die Religionsquellen," p. 127; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 212–214; and L. von Schroeder, *Arische Religion* (Leipzig, 1914), II, 399, all of whom have contended that the Sun Maiden represents the sun itself.

[19] See *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*, XI, 363, Song no. 33766, and p. 368, no. 33801. This is the most complete collection of Latvian songs available, and, unless specifically cited otherwise, the dainas used in this study are from this collection. Hereafter they are cited solely by the page number and the daina number in that order. I am indebted to Mara Krisbergs, student at the University of California, Los Angeles, for the translations.

[20] see Alexander H. Krappe, *Mythologie universelle* (Paris, 1930), pp. 52–53.

[21] See, for instance, Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge*, pp. 13–14.

[22] The problem of polyandry has stirred up some controversy among Vedic scholars. Some have assumed that since the theme occurs in the mythological tradition, polyandry must have once been practiced by the Indo-European peoples. See Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 83, for a discussion of this problem. A curiously emotional feeling of revulsion was expressed by H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland* (Halle, 1923), p. 258: "Aber man erwäge doch die höchst auffallende Sage, dass beide Aśvin Gatten der sūryā sein sollen! Dies kann nicht ursprünglich sein, oder wo haben wir sonst im arischen Altertum von einer solchen Frauengemeinschaft auch nur eine weitere Spur?" Güntert then continues his argument by contending that the theme was of a "non-Aryan" origin. Such thinking, I believe, is based on the fallacious assumption that a mythologem necessarily is based on an actual practice.

[23] Gimbutas, "The Ancient Religion of the Balts," p. 107; P. Schmidt, "Mythologie der Letten," p. 198; cf., L. Adamovičs, "Senlatviešu mītoloģija," *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*, XI, 557–576.

[24] See W. Mannhardt, "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, VII (1875), 313; Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 125, and L. Myriantheus, *Die Açvins, oder die arischen Dioskuren* (Munich, 1876), pp. 25, 36.

[25] See G. Dumézil, *Naissance d'Archanges: Essai sur la formation de la théologie Zoroastrienne* (Paris, 1945), pp. 157–180; also "Les fleurs Haurot-Maurot et les anges Haurvatāt-Amərətāt," *Revue des études arméniennes*, VI (1926), 43–64. See also P. J. de Menasce, "Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angélologie judéo-musulmanne, à propos de Hārūt et Mārūt," *Asiatische Studien*, I (1947), 10–18; A. H. Krappe, "Zum antiken Zwillingskult im Lichte der Ethnologie," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LXVI (1934), 188–189, and his "Bene Elohim," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, IX, 157–172; James Darmsteter, "Cabires, Bene Elohim et Dioscures," *Memoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, IV (1881), 89–95, and his *Haurvatât et Ameretât: Essai sur la mythologie de l'Avesta* (Paris, 1875), pp. 4–14. Furthermore, a pair of heroic twins, Luhrāsp and Gushtāsp, appears in Firdausi's *Shāhnāmeh*. Wikander believes this pair represents a heroic euhemerization of the Indo-Iranian twins. The final part of their names, according to Wikander,

is related to the Vedic Aśvin (*aspa-* 'horse' = Skt. *aśva-*); see "Sur le fonds commun indo-iranien des épopées de la Perse et de l'Inde," *La nouvelle Clio*, I (1950), 310–329.

[26] Various scholars have interpreted the horses of the twins as symbols of celestial phenomena. See Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, pp. 74, 103–107; Mannhardt, "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," pp. 556–557; Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, pp. 269–270; Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 53. Although there can be no doubt that the Divine Twins are celestial deities, closely associated with celestial phenomena, the exact role played by the horses is difficult to determine, and this problem need not be treated in this study. W. Koppers, "Die Religion der Indogermanen in ihren kulturhistorischen Beziehungen," *Anthropos*, XXIV (1929), 1073–1089, attempted to trace the origin of the Aśvins to a Mongolian horse-cult. This theory was effectively rejected by J. Hauer, "Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Indogermanenfrage," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXXVI (1939), 1–63.

[27] The third horse may indicate a theriomorphic association for the third member of the Dioscuric triad, i.e., the Sun Maiden. Pairs of horses are, moreover, favorite items in Baltic folk art. See M. Gimbutas, *Ancient Symbolism in Lithuanian Folk Art*, Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, vol. 49 (Philadelphia, 1958), p. 70.

[28] According to some post-Vedic texts, Vivasvat was also in the form of a stallion when he begot the Aśvins with the mare Saraṇyū. See H. Lommel, "Vedische Einzelstudien," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XCIX (1945–1949), 243–252.

[29] Hellmut Rosenfeld, "Germanischer Zwillingsgottkult," *Märchen, Mythos, Dichtung: Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag Friedrich von der Leyen* (Munich, 1963), pp. 275–285, contends that the Divine Twins were originally a two-horse team that drew the solar chariot across the heavens, and he considers other characteristics secondary.

[30] J. Schmidt, "Tyndareos," *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Roscher (Leipzig, 1929–30), V, 1410. Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, p. 51. Adolf Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. I, pt. 1, col. 1158. Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, pp. 69–71.

[31] Erich Bethe, "Dioskuren," Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung, 1. Reihe, V, 1, cols. 1089–1093. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, pp. 182–183.

[32] See the discussion in the section "Sons of the Sky-God."

[33] Investigators who have failed to take cognizance of the universal Dioscuric traits have been misled by such verses. G. L. Chandavarkar, "Aśvins as Historical Figures," *Journal of the University of Bombay*, III (1935), 81, believes that the Aśvins evolved from one heroic figure who became deified, and thus led a twofold existence, human and divine. Thus the concept of the two Aśvins, one mortal and one divine, is supposed to have developed. Similarly, Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, p. 258, tried to show that the Aśvins were not twins at all. The evidence that both scholars used in their theories represents precisely those traits typical of Dioscuric divinities.

[34] According to Alfred Ludwig, *Commentar zur Rigveda-Uebersetzung, Der Rigveda* (Prague, 1881), III, 333, Vivasvat is identical with the Sky-God Dyaus. Ludwig, however, was unable to adduce any substantial supporting evidence.

[35] See L. Adamovičs, "Senlatviešu mītoloģija," pp. 557–576.

[36] "Germanischer Zwillingsgottkult," pp. 271–272. Similarly, in a recent investigation Heino Gehrts, *Das Märchen und das Opfer* (Bonn, 1967), p. 20, considers the element of dual paternity to be the result of a later intrusion.

[37] See the discussion in the above section, "Dual Paternity."

[38] Even the report concerning the grave of the Dioskouri does not necessarily indicate that the brothers were not divine. Divine twins are often considered to have the ability to lead mortal lives, as is shown in chap. i.

[39] Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See*; Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," 1163–1164; Schroeder *Arische Religion*, II, pp. 448–450; Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 214; Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* (Breslau, 1902), III, pp. 379–382; Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, pp. 255–264; Harris, *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, pp. 131–135; Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 63.

[40] See Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, pp. 259–260. See also Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg, 1953), II, 156. Although this etymology has found general approval among Vedic scholars, a recent study by H. Lommel, "Vedische Skizzen," *Beiträge zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde. Walther Schubring zum 70. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 1951), pp. 29–37, argues persuasively in favor of the discounted etymology of Yaska (*Nirukta* 6.13), *nāsā* + *tya* 'nose-born.' Lommel supports this etymology with reference to the myths of the coupling of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū in horse form and the latter's sniffing at the spilled sperm, which led to the birth of the Aśvins (*Bṛhaddevatā* 6.162–167.7). There have been other explanations. For example, Ph. Colinet, "Vedic Chips," *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, III (1888–1889), 196: *na* 'very,' *satya* 'fulfillment of wishes,' thus *Nāsatya* 'very beneficial.' Machek, "Origin

of the Aśvins," pp. 413–419: *Na-asatya* 'not deceitful.' A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique d'après les hymnes du Rig-Veda* (Paris, 1883), II, 434: *Nāsatyā* 'gods with good noses.' The name also occurs in the treaties of the Mitanni as *na-sa-at-ti-ja-an-na*; see E. Laroche, "Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites," *Revue hittite et asianique*, VII (1946–47), 118. The name *Nāŋhaiθya* also occurs in the Avesta. Stig Wikander, "Nakula et Sahadeva," *Orientalia Suecana*, VI (1957), 81, considers the etymology to be still in doubt.

[41] See Furtwängler, "Dioskuren" col. 1163–1164.

[42] See Th. Baunack, "Bhujyu, ein Schützling der Açvin," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XXXV (1899), 485–563.

[43] In spite of such overwhelming evidence, Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 117, tried to show that the theme of rescue was a late development within the Greek tradition, and was in no way related to the Vedic hymns where the theme, according to Farnell, is "only faintly reflected in the legend of the Aśvins."

[44] Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, pp. 161–169, for example, contends that the rescue of Bhujyu reflected solar phenomena. The sea is symbolic of the sky, and Tugra represents the storm, who has cast the Sun (Bhujyu) into the clouds, whence he is liberated by the Aśvins. Similarly, L. von Schroeder, *Arische Religion*, II, 442–443, believes that the episode reflects the rescue of the setting Sun by the Aśvins.

[45] See J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 286. See also Fletcher Bassett, *Sea Phantoms, or Legends and Superstitions of the Sea and Sailors* (Chicago, 1892), pp. 301-312.

[46] Chr. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde* (Leipzig, 1867), I, 762.

[47] R. Roth, "Die Sage von Dschemschid," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, IV (1850), 417–433.

[48] E. Hopkins, *The Religions of India* (London, 1895), p. 82; Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, p. 35.

[49] E. Hardy, *Die Vedisch-brahmanische Periode der Religion des alten Indiens* (Münster, 1893), pp. 47–48.

[50] A. Weber, "Vedische Hochzeitssprüche," *Indische Studien*, V (1862), 234–235.

[51] W. Schwartz, "Die rossgestaltigen Himmelsärzte bei Indern und Griechen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XX (1888), 221–230.

[52] R. S. Shastry, "The Aśvins," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society: Bangalore*, XX (1929), 88.

[53] Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, II 431–439.

[54] "The Twin Gods Aśvinau, "*Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1932), 277.

[55] *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1925), I, 60. Cf. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, III, 390–392.

[56] Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter*, pp. 18–21, Bassett, *Sea Phantoms*, pp. 64, 301–312.

[57] See, for example, Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* pp. 212–213; Mannhardt, "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," pp. 312–313; Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, pp. 267–269; Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, pp. 92–93; Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 34; *Boanerges*, pp. 189–191; Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre* (Göttingen, 1857–1863), I, 606; L. von Schroeder, *Arische Religion*, II, 445–448; Theodor Benfey, *Glossar zum Samaveda* (Leipzig, 1846), p. 18; K. Schneider, *Germanische Runennamen* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1956), pp. 331–338.

[58] "Germanischer Zwillingsgottkult," p. 270.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

[60] See A. H. Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 83. See also, K. Hissink and A. Hahn, *Die Tacana* (Stuttgart, 1961), I, no. 56, in which one member of a pair of heroic twins becomes the Morning Star.

[61] See L. Adamovičs, "Senlatviešu mītoloģija," pp. 557–576.

[62] "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," p. 291.

[63] Further evidence that the Dieva dēli were originally associated with stars can be found in the Estonian folk songs in which the maiden Salme (Latv. Saules meita) chooses the Star Youth from among several suitors. This theme has clearly been borrowed from the mythology of the Balts. See J. Puhvel, "Filles du Soleil: folklore estonien et mythologie indo-européenne," in *Studies in Estonian Language and Literature Presented to Ants Oras* (Stockholm, 1965), pp. 155–165.

[64] Most of the iconographic evidence of the Divine Twins is from a relatively recent period of Greek culture. None of the evidence predates the third century B.C. The astral identification is expressed, however, in some of the older of these icons. See Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse* (Paris, 1935), pp. 97–98.

[65] See L. von Schroeder, *Arische Religion*, II, 451.

[66] Cf. the Germanic celestial steeds *Skinfaxi* 'brilliant mane,' and *Hrimfaxi* 'hoar frost mane.' (*Vafþrudnismál*, 11–14). This pair is discussed in greater detail in chap. iii.

[67] B. G. Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas* (Poona City [India], 1903), p. 301, sees the struggle between the powers of light and dark lying at the base of this healing function: The Aśvins, standing by Indra, were "the first to help the gods with their inflictions." R. Otto, *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier* (Giessen, 1932), pp. 76–81, on the other hand, believes this function grew out of the original function of the twins as a team of oxen (*Joch Buckelrinder*). Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 62, ascribes this function to a universal characteristic of twins. Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, p. 82, believes that as deities of light, the Aśvins were able to give sight to the blind, and their role as physicians grew from this ability. The fact that twins are generally considered as helpers and saviors probably played a role in the development of the function of miraculous healers.

[68] See Ludwig Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, ed. C. Robert (4th ed.; Berlin, 1921), II, 103. See also G. Dumézil, "Le *curtus equos* de la fête de Pales et la mutilation de la jument Viś-pala," *Eranos*, LIV (1956), 232–245.

[69] See Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures*, p. 54, fig. 37. See also Schroeder, *Arische Religion*, II, 453–458. For additional evidence of the healing function of the Divine Twins, see Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 63; R. Schilling, "Les Castores romains à la lumière des traditions indo-européennes," *Hommages à Georges Dumézil* (Brussels, 1960), pp. 185–191; E. Benveniste, "La doctrine médicale des Indo-européens," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, LXXX (1945), 5–12. W. Schwartz, "Die rossgestaltigen Himmelsärzte bei Indern und Griechen," has attempted to show that the Greek centaurs, who were likewise physicians of the gods, are related to the Vedic Aśvins.

[70] Conversely, the Baltic and the Greek traditions constitute better sources for mythological themes than do the Vedic hymns.

[71] For a more complete listing of the episodes involving the participation of the Dioskouroi in battle, see Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," col. 1156–1157.

[72] See Schilling, "Les Castores," pp. 177–180.

[73] See Schroeder, *Arische Religion*, II, 457, and Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," cols. 1156–1157.

[74] See Güntert, *Der Arische Weltkönig*, p. 256, who demonstrates convincingly that the honey represents the morning dew. K. N. Dave, *Discoveries in Vedic Mysticism* (Nagpur, 1955), has attempted to show that the Aśvins were originally divinities of honey, and of bee cultures. Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, pp. 130–139, has interpreted the spreading of honey to be symbolic for the granting of rain.

[75] Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," col. 1167–1168.

[76] See Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures*, pp. 81–86.

[77] Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, p. 154.

[78] "Les Castores," pp. 183–186.

[79] *Mythologie universelle*, p. 62. For additional evidence of the Mediterranean Dioscuri as divinities of fertility, see P. Merlat, "Orient, Grèce, Rome. Un exemple de syncrétisme? Les 'Castores' dolichéniens," *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960), pp. 77–94.

[80] See Jonval, *Les chansons mythologiques lettonnes*, p. 40.

[81] The Indo-European tripartite structure, which, according to Dumézil, is reflected not only in the mythology, but in the society as a whole, makes a clear distinction between the functions of the divinities of the pantheon. The first function is essentially the religious-political function, involving the priests and the kings (Mitra-Varuna). The second function is that of warfare, involving warriors (Indra). The third function is essentially economic, involving fertility, wealth, and general well-being (Aśvins). See, for example, Dumézil, *L'idéologie tripartie des Indo-Européens*, Collection Latomus, XXXI (Brussels, 1958); "L'étude comparée des religions indo-européennes," *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, XXIX (1941), 385–394.

[82] "The 'Aryan' Gods of the Mitanni Treaties," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXX (1960), 315.

[83] This difference exhibited by the Greek twins has resulted in some unfortunate attempts to explain the phenomenon in terms of historic development. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge*, p. 43, argued that the difference between Amphion and Zethos was a reflection of the beginnings of a division of labor. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 193, believed that a dual ritual, one heroic, one divine, gave rise to the heroic-divine character of the Dioskouroi. Bethe, "Dioskuren," col. 1089–1093, held that the Dioskouroi were originally two individual heroes. Later they became a pair and one was deified. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich, 1941), I, 406–410, thought that a Spartan heroic pair had been combined with a pair of divine twins. It is essentially Nilsson's argument that Hellmut Rosenfeld adopted in his study. See pp. 13–14, above.

[84] Anna Bērzakalne, *Typenverzeichnis lettischer Volksromanzen*, FF Communications 123 (Helsinki, 1938), p. 15, no. 149.

[85] A similar contrast in describing the phenomenon of brilliance occurs with the Aśvins, one of whom is called *śukra-* 'shining,' while the other is called *rajata-* 'silvery' (TA 1, 10, 2).

[86] "Nakula et Sahadeva," pp. 66–96.

[87] Although in the *Rig Veda* both names generally occur in the dual, there is one hymn (RV 4. 3.6) that speaks of one Nāsatya. Other scholars have concluded that these were originally the individual names of the Aśvins. See P. S. Sastri, "The Semantic History of the Words *Nāsatyāu* and *Dasrāu*," *Journal of Oriental Research: Madras*, XVI (1945), 18–20. Similarly, Ph. Colinet, "Vedic Chips," p. 196, contends that Nāsatya was originally a singular that became a dual, and was then applied to both twins, much like the Roman "Castores."

[88] "Nakula et Sahadeva," p. 81.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83. Various scholars have sensed the essential difference between the Aśvins, even though the evidence indicating such a distinction is subtle. For example, C. Renel, *L'évolution d'un mythe: Açvins et Dioscures* (Paris, 1896), p. 63, sees the one twin embodying the fire element of the sacrifice, while the second embodies the liquid element. F. Cornelius, *Indogermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1942), p. 65, contends that one twin was the coachman and the other the warrior in the celestial chariot. G. L. Chandavarkar, "Aśvins as Historical Figures," p. 81, contends that the Aśvins owe their existence to a single mortal who became deified and thus led a twofold existence, human and divine. Thus the concept of the two Aśvins, one divine and one mortal, is supposed to have developed. For a more recent discussion of the difference between the twins, see Georges Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée. L'idéologie des trois fonctions dans les épopées des peuples indo-européens* (Paris, 1968), pp. 76–89.

[90] See Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures*, p. 282.

[91] "Les Castores romains à la lumière des traditions indo-européennes," pp. 177–192.

[92] See Kenneth Scott, "Drusus, Nicknamed 'Castor,'" *Classical Philology*, XXV (1930), 155.

[93] This information will eventually be published by Armistead in an article entitled "Two Rival Traditions Concerning the Parentage of the Cid." I am grateful to Professor Armistead for providing me with this information.

[94] *Compendio historical*, Second Redaction, Biblioteca Nacional Madrid, MS 1525, former F-115, fol. 248 ro.

[95] Cf. Dumézil, "Remarques sur les armes des dieux de 'troisième fonction' chez divers peuples indo-européens," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, XXVIII (1957), 1–10.

[96] See Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, pp. 73–76.

[97] Harris, *Boanerges* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 310.

[98] Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," col. 1159.

[99] *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 42–46. See also Bethe, "Dioskuren," in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, 1. Reihe, V, Pt. 1, col. 1092. Cf. Norbert Wagner, "Dioskuren, Jungmannschaften und Doppelkönigtum," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXIX (1960), 226, and Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, p. 264.

[100] M. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 420. See also Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," col. 1172. Cf. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 191.

[101] "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," p. 297.

[102] *Mysterium*, pp. 42–46.

[103] *Mythologie universelle*, p. 61.

[104] "Dioskuren, Jungmannschaften," pp. 226–227.

[105] See E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Strasbourg, 1915), pp. 168–169.

[106] See G. C. Jhala, "The Aśvina in the Rgveda," *Journal of the University of Bombay*, I (1933), 247.

[107] This trait has been interpreted in various ways. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, p. 267, contends: "Der Zug, dass die Aśvins den anderen Göttern nicht ganz ebenbürtig erscheinen, erklärt sich ohne weiteres aus dem Grössenverhaltnis der Sterne im Vergleich zu Sonne und Mond." Leo Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LXI (1929), 192, writes: "Die Aśvins . . . stellten also, wenigstens ursprünglich, keineswegs Astralkörper dar, sondern Menschen von Fleisch und Blut." See also, G. L. Chandavarkar, "Aśvins as Historical Figures," pp. 63–88.

[108] Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," col. 1167.

[109] Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, pp. 223–224, for example, writes: "The primary facts given are the names and figures of certain Laconian heroes called Kastor and Polydeukes belonging to the ancient genealogies of the Achaean royal houses and especially to Amuklai; they show no trace of being 'faded gods'—still less, in the early period, of any astral nature—for the purposes of a scientific classification they must be ranked as human-heroic personalities."

[110] See Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 79, and L. Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," p. 164.

[111] See K. Scott, "The Dioscuri and the Imperial Cult," *Classical Philology*, XXV (1930), 379–380. See also Scott, "Drusus, Nicknamed 'Castor,'" pp. 155–161. See also Stein, "Drusus Castor," *Hermes*, LIII (1918), 217–220.

[112] "Dioskuren, Jungmannschaften," p. 11.

[113] Wagner, *ibid.*, p. 227, contends that the rubbing of sticks was equated with copulation.

[114] Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," col. 1170; Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures*, pp. 54–67.

[115] Mannhardt, "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," p. 312; Furtwängler, "Dioskuren," col. 1160; Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 80.

[116] Otto Huth, *Janus* (Published Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bonn, 1932), p. 84: "Zwillinge, zwei Knaben oder Jünglinge müssen das Notfeuer, d.i. das Julfeuer drehen. Daraus ergibt sich: der idg. Dioskurenmythos ist der Kultmythos des Wintersonnenwende-Neujahrsfestes." See the same author, *Festa* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1943).

[117] R. Meringer, "Indogermanische Pfahlgötzen," *Wörter und Sachen*, IX (1926), 107–122.

[118] Georg Wilke, *Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Indien, Orient und Europa* (Würzburg, 1913), pp. 96–97; E. Wienecke, *Untersuchungen zur Religion der Westslaven* (Leipzig, 1940), pp. 49–53.

[119] See P. Thieme, "The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni Treaties," p. 305.

[120] The other gods are Mitra-Varuna and Indra. The treaty calls the twins *na-sa-at-ti-ia-an-na*. See n. 40 above.

[121] *Der arische Weltkönig*, p. 271. See also Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 96.

[122] See Schilling, "Les Castores," p. 190. See also Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 96.

[123] J. R. Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London, 1903), p. 56.

[124] Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge*, p. 109.

[125] Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1931), I, 233.

[126] See Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, pp. 89–90, 120.

[127] Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, p. 94.

[128] Harris *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, pp. 85–86; *Dioscuri*, p. 15.

[129] J. de Vries, *Keltische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1964), pp. 112–113.

[130] "Die gallischen und die germanischen Dioskuren," *Trierer Zeitschrift*, XVI/XVII (1940–1942), 8–27, 1–116.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 56. For other attempts to locate the Celtic twins, see O. Huth, *Festa*, pp. 94–95, and H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes* (Paris, 1904), pp. 58–59. Neither attempt is convincing.

[132] Various scholars have posited the presence of the Divine Twins in Slavic folktales and folksongs. See Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult," p. 154; Wilke, *Kulturbeziehungen*, p. 122. These attempts are not entirely convincing, but the problem certainly warrants further investigation.

[133] *Untersuchungen zur Religion der Westslaven*, pp. 49–53. See chap. iv of the present study.

[134] Jaan Puhvel, "Filles du Soleil," pp. 155–165.

[135] Schroeder, *Arische Religion*, II, 425–434; Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, p. 265; K. Krohn, "Die Freierei der Himmelslichter," *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen*, III (1903), 15–44.

[136] *Suomalainen mytologia* (Helsinki, 1960).

III: The Divine Twins in Germanic Mythology

[1] For an excellent discussion of the problems of the Indo-European community and of its diaspora, see C. Scott Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology: An Anthropological Assessment of the Theories of Georges Dumézil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 23–31.

[2] See, for example, M. Gimbutas, "The Indo-Europeans: Archaeological Problems," *American Anthropologist*, LXV (1963), 815–836. See also P. Bosch-Gimpera, *Les Indo-Européens, problèmes archeologiques* (Paris, 1961). See also H. Hencken, *Indo-European Languages and Archaeology*, American Anthropological Association Memoirs, no. 84 (1955).

[3] The form *teiva* is inscribed on a helmet found in the Steiermark (Austria) in 1811. See H. Rosenfeld, "Die Inschrift des Helms von Negau," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LXXXVI (1955/56), 241–265.

[4] See W. Krause, "Ziu," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Fachgruppe IV, n.s. III (1940), 155–172. See also, O. Bremer, "Der germanische Himmelsgott," *Indogermanische Forschungen*, III (1894), 301–302. According to G. Dumézil, Tyr represents the Germanic reflex of the "Mitra-half" of the Indo-European "sovereign (first) function." This is discussed in the course of this chapter. Various scholars have disputed the association of Tyr with the Indo-European Sky-God. See, for example, E. A. Philippson, "Neuere Forschung auf dem Gebiet der germanischen Mythologie," *Germanic Review*, XI (1936), 9.

[5] See M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1961), pp. 121–126.

[6] See H. Biezais, *Die Gottesgestalt der lettischen Volksreligion* (Stockholm-Göteborg-Uppsala, 1961). Biezais argues that the Latvian *Dievs* is used as a generic name.

[7] See E. A. Philippson, *Die Genealogie der Götter in germanischer Religion* (Urbana, Illinois, 1953), p. 56.

[8] See R. Much, "Der germanische Himmelsgott," in *Festgabe für Richard Heinzel* (Halle/Saale, 1898), pp. 204–230.

[9] For an excellent discussion of the theories of Georges Dumézil, see C. S. Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology*.

[10] See *Mitra-Varuna: Essai sur deux représentations indo-européennes de la souveraineté* (2d ed.; Paris, 1948). See also, by the same author, *Mythes et dieux des Germains* (Paris, 1939), and *Le dieux des Germains* (Paris, 1959).

[11] "L'aspect magique de la religion celtique," *Ogam*, X (1958), 273–284. See C. Scott Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology*, for more details. One might look to the medieval German epic *Waltharius*, preserved in a Latin MS., for a Germanic parallel. In this epic Hagen loses an eye, while the hero Walther loses an arm. It would be difficult, however, to support a mythological interpretation of this episode.

[12] *Naissance de Rome (Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, II)*, (Paris, 1944).

[13] *Loki ("Les Dieux et les Hommes," I)*, (Paris, 1948), trans. into German by Inge Köck, *Loki* (Darmstadt, 1959).

[14] *Aspects de la fonction guerrière chez les Indo-Européens* (Paris, 1956).

[15] "Remarques comparatives sur le dieu scandinave Heimdallr," *Études celtique* VIII (1959), 263–283.

[16] "La Rigsþula et la structure sociale indo-européenne," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, CLIV (1958), 1–19.

[17] "La transposition des dieux souverains mineurs en héros dans le Mahābhārata," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, III (1959), 1–16.

[18] For an excellent discussion of Dumézil's critics as well as his disciples, see C. S. Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology*, pp. 143–192.

[19] *Tor: Undersökningar i indoeuropeisk och nordisk religionshistoria*. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, IX (1949). For other attempts to determine the Indo-European elements in Germanic religion, see E. Polomé, "La religion germanique primitive, reflet d'une structure sociale," *Le Flambeau*, XXXVII (1954), 437–463, and by the same author, "L'etymologie du terme germanique *ansuz 'dieu souverain,'" *Études Germaniques*, VIII (1953), 36–44.

[20] "Das Motiv des Vater-Sohn-Kampfes im Hildebrandslied," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, XXXIV (1953), 257–274. Reprinted in *Zur germanisch-deutschen Heldensage*, ed. K. Hauck (Bad Homburg, 1961), pp. 248–284.

[21] "Från Bråvalla till Kurukshetra," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, LXXV (1960), 183–193. See also, by the same author, "Germanische und indo-iranische Eschatologie," *Kairos* (1960), pp. 83–88.

[22] Wikander has noted other striking parallels between the two traditions, but these are too numerous to be outlined here.

[23] The theme evidently was never part of a popular oral narrative, for it does not occur in either the Aarne/Thompson *Tale-Type Index*, nor in the Thompson *Motif-Index*.

[24] "Pāṇḍava-sagan och Mahābhāratas mytiska förutsättningar," *Religion och Bibel*, VI (1947), 27–39.

[25] The manuscript of the Poetic Edda dates from the thirteenth century, more than 200 years after the introduction of Christianity into Iceland. The material it contains is unquestionably much older. The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson likewise dates from the thirteenth century.

[26] *Die germanischen Runennamen. Versuch einer Gesamtdeutung* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1956), pp. 322–400.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 333.

[28] Schneider, however, failed to note that this lay has previously been posited as a manifestation of a Dioscuric myth, first by Mannhardt, "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, VII (1875), 301, and then by L. von Schroeder, *Der arische Religion* (Leipzig, 1914), II, 423–425.

[29] *Hedenske Kultminder i norske stednavne. Skrifter utgitt av Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania*, II hist.-filos. klasse, 2. bind., esp. chap. vii–viii and xx–xxii.

[30] Although the reports on the *Lugier*, *Asdingi*, and *Alcis* all come from the same general area, the degree of association between them is problematic, as Olsen himself is aware. See the chapters on *Alcis* and on dual kingship in the present study.

[31] *Undersökningar i germanisk mythologi* (Stockholm, 1886–1889), II, 222–223.

[32] "Die Dioskuren im Beowulf," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XXX (1886), 217–260.

[33] Some years later a similar hypothesis was developed by A. Döhring, "Kastors und Balders Tod," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, V (1902), 38–63, 97–104. See also, Kaufmann, *Balder, Mythus und Sage* (Strasbourg, 1903), pp. 393–396, and H. Schück, *Studier i nordisk litteratur- och religionshistoria* (Stockholm, 1904), pp. 105–109. See also A. H. Krappe, "The Myth of Balder," *Folklore*, XXXIV (1923), 184–215.

[34] *La saga de Hadingus* (Saxo Grammaticus I, V–VIII), (Paris, 1953), pp. 125–128, and by the same author, *Naissance d'archanges* (Paris, 1945), pp. 170–180.

[35] *Studier till Sveriges hedna mytologi och Fornhistoria*, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, no. 8, Filosofi, Språkvetenskap och historiska vetenskaper, 6. (Uppsala, 1924), pp. 126–127.

[36] The stanza is a *níðvísa*, i.e., an insulting verse, and was originally in the runic alphabet, where the nonumlauted forms *Fraur* and *Niurþr* appeared.

[37] See the above sections "Protectors of the Oath" and "The Difference between the Divine Twins." Giorgio del Vecchio, *Justice: An Historical and Philosophical Essay*, ed. A. H. Campbell (New York, 1953), pp. 160–170, points out that the principle of duality played a most important role in the concept of justice in classical antiquity.

[38] See *Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning*, ed. F. Jonsson (Copenhagen and Christiania [Oslo], 1912), I, 106.

[39] Njörðr, like Freyr and Balder, performs additional functions attributed to the Indo-European twins. For example, it is reported that he rules over the wind and the sea (*Gylfaginning*, 23), and is the god who dispenses wealth (*Skáldskaparmál*, 6). Moreover Snorri, in speaking of the Vanic deities, declared that it was customary for brothers to marry their sisters, indicating a possible incestuous, polyandrous relationship characteristic of the Indo-European Dioscuric triads.

[40] "Neue Beiträge zum altgermanischen Dioskurenglauben," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CL (1950), 91–101.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 101. There have been other attempts to locate the Divine Twins in Norse mythology, none of which is very convincing. See, for example, F. Cornelius, *Indogermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1942), pp. 212–213. See also A. H. Krappe, "The Valkyries," *Modern Language Review*, XXI (1926), 55–73, and by the same author, "Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique," *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, VI (1931), 1–25.

[42] K. Schneider, *Runennamen*, p. 3, first saw a link between this material and the Indo-European Dioscuric tradition.

[43] See *ibid.*, pp. 338–339, for a discussion of this contrast.

[44] "Germanischer Zwillingsgottkult," in *Märchen, Mythos, Dichtung*, ed. Hugo Kuhn and Kurt Schier (Munich, 1963), p. 274.

[45] Usas is the sister of Rātri, the goddess of night; however, in the prayer cited, *nipt* could likewise be interpreted 'sister.'

[46] Such survivals of cult poetry occur elsewhere in Norse literary tradition. See H. de Boor, "Dichtung," in *Germanische Altertumskunde*, ed. H. Schneider (2d ed.; Munich, 1951), pp. 317–335.

IV: The "Alcis" of Tacitus' Germania

[1] See R. Much, "Naharvali," *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. J. Hoops (Strasbourg, 1915–1916), III, 298. See also, the same author, "Wandalische Götter," *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, XXVII (1926), 20–22; L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Wandalen* (Munich, 1942), p. 39. See also, J. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1956), II, 247, hereafter cited as *AGR*. The name *Naharnavali* has defied all attempts of etymologizing. Steinhauser, "Kultische Stammesnamen in Ostgermanien," *Die Sprache*, II (1950–1952), 13–14, attempted to show a Celtic origin, although he conceded that this attempt was based on conjecture.

[2] "Zeugnisse und Excurse," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XII (1865), 346–354. See also the same author, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (Berlin, 1920), IV, 487–488.

[3] "Wandalische Götter," pp. 20–41.

[4] *The Legend of Rodrick* (Heidelberg, 1923), pp. 47–51, and *Études de mythologie et de folklore germaniques* (Paris, 1928), pp. 140–174.

[5] *La saga de Hadingus* (Paris, 1953), pp. 118–159. There are, however, many dissenters. See De Vries, *AGR*, II, 253; H. Schneider, *Die Gedichte und die Sage von Wolfdietrich* (Munich, 1913), pp. 379–385; and A. Heusler, "Ortnid," *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, III, 382–383.

[6] *La saga de Hadingus*, pp. 118–159. Cf. E. A. Philippson, *Die Genealogie der Götter in Germanischer Religion, Mythologie und Theologie* (Urbana, Illinois, 1953), p. 9. Krappe, "Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique, *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, VI (1931), 1–25, has associated the femininely dressed priest with the cult of male fertility deities and has adduced numerous

ethnographic parallels. See also, A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (2d ed.; London, 1927), I, 250–251.

[7] K. F. Johansson, "Germ. Alcis (germ. Dioskuren)," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, XXXV (1919), 1–22; R. Much, "Wandalische Götter," p. 40.

[8] Cf. K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, (Heidelberg, 1937), II, 50. A somewhat fantastic, yet interesting, hypothesis was put forth by Karl Wolfskehl, *Germanische Werbungssagen*, (Darmstadt, 1893), who associated the phenomenon with the Germanic "Storm-God" whose way locks symbolized the storm clouds. He adduces numerous instances from Germanic heroic tradition in which various heroes appear with long wavy hair.

[9] K. Schneider, *Germanische Runennamen* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1956), p. 351.

[10] O. Huth, *Festa* (Leipzig Berlin, 1943), p. 85; J. Loewenthal, "Zur germ. Wortkunde," *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XXXII (1916), 288; and Thede Palm, "Der Kult der Naharvalen," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXXVI (1939), 398–405. The merits of this hypothesis are discussed in the course of this chapter.

[11] K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, I, 324, II, 276. Helm calls attention to the report of Jordanes (*Get.* 5) that Gothic priests wore a special headdress (*pileatus*). See also, E. Fehrle, ed. and trans., *Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Germania* (5th ed.; Heidelberg, 1959), p. 53. J. W. Hauer, *Urkunden und Gestalten der germanisch- deutschen Glaubensgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1941), p. 395, thought of a shamanistic change of sex. Cf. de Vries, *AGR*, II, 391.

[12] "Die Dioskuren als *leukṓ pṓlō* und die Alces= Elchreiter der Vandalen," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, n.s., LXXXIX (1940), 1–6, and by the same author, "Die vandalischen Alkes, 'Elchreiter,' des ostgermanische Hirschkult und die Dioskuren," *Germanisch- romanische Monatsschrift*, XXVIII (1940), 245–258. See also, by the same author, "Germanischer Zwillingsgottkult," *Märchen, Mythos, Dichtung* (Munich, 1963), pp. 269–286.

[13] See E. Bickel, "Nordisches Stammgut in römischer Religion," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, n.s., LXXXIX (1940), 12–43; E. Fehrle, *Germania*, 5th ed., p. 128.

[14] "Das Kivikdenkmal," *Mannus*, VII (1915), 61–77.

[15] "Germ. Alcis (germ. Dioskuren)," pp. 1–22.

[16] "Alces," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, LVII (1933), 226–230.

[17] Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, IV, 488; Much, "Wandalische Götter," p. 381; K. Schneider, *Runennamen*, p. 335; R. Meringer, "Indogermanische Pfahlgötzen (Alche, Dioskuren, Asen)," *Wörter und Sachen*, IX (1926), 107–112; H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig* (Halle, 1923), p. 262.

[18] The form is apparently lacking in the North Germanic languages. M. Olsen, *Hedenske Kultminder* (Kristiania, 1915), pp. 263–272, has posited ON **algio* as a grammatical alternation of Proto-Germanic **alh-* 'sacred grove,' 'sanctuary.' He also attempted to show that there were a number of such sanctuaries in Scandinavia which could be detected in modern place-names in which one could recognize the Norwegian stems *Elgjar-*, *Elgi-* (e.g., *Elgetun*, *Eltun*, *Elves*, among others), and the Swedish stem *Alir-* (e.g., *Norr-ala*, *Göttala*). Supporting Olsen are H. Lindroth, *Våra ortnamn och vad de lära oss* (Stockholm, 1923), p. 132, and G. Franzen, *Nordisk kultur*, V (1939), 166. Cf. K. F. Johansson, "Germ. Alcis," pp. 15–19. R. Much has posited Proto-Norse **alh* 'amulet,' *Die Germania des Tacitus* (Heidelberg, 1954), p. 381. On the other hand, J. Loewenthal, "Zur germanischen Wortkunde," pp. 286–290, sees a cognate in the Swedish (dialect) *ala* 'to blaze,' Proto-Germanic **algo-s* 'burning.'

[19] See R. Trautmann, *Baltisch-slawisches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1923), p. 6.

[20] See Trautmann, *ibid.*, who posits the IE root **alek-* with the basic meaning 'idol,' or 'graven image.' Moreover, Meringer, "Indogermanische Pfahlgötzen," p. 108, argues that the Homeric formula *alki pepoithós* originally meant 'placing faith in his idol.'

[21] *Deutsche Mythologie* (4th ed.; Berlin, 1875), I, 53.

[22] "Indogermanische Pfahlgötzen," p. 112.

[23] This report has a striking parallel in Greece, where Pausanias (7.22.5) reported that a grove of the Dioskouroi at Achaia was without shrines or statues.

[24] See Sophus Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde* (Strasbourg, 1898), II, 179, and E. H. Meyer, *Mythologie der Germanen* (Strasbourg, 1903), pp. 33, 311.

[25] See Meringer, "Indogermanische Pfahlgötzen," pp. 118–120.

[26] See R. Much, "Wandalische Götter," pp. 35–37.

[27] O. Huth, *Vesta*, pp. 84–85, and Thede Palm, "Der Kult der Naharvalen," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXXVI (1939), 402–404, and J. Loewenthal, "Zur germ. Wortkunde," p. 286.

[28] Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1875), I, 518. For other examples, see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (4th ed.: Berlin, 1875), I, 500–522.

[29] See Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (3d ed.; New York, 1935), X, 518. There have been attempts to interpret certain cave drawings as depicting fire-lighting ceremonies involving a pair of twins. See

Thede Palm, "Der Kult der Naharvalen," pp. 402–404; see also Just Bing, "Das Kivikdenkmal," pp. 61–77.

[30] H. Jankuhn, "Moorfunde," in *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland*, Römisch- Germanische Kommission der deutschen archaeologischen Instituts (Berlin, 1958), pp. 250–253.

[31] H. Fikentscher, "Die Haltbarkeit der Firstenden beim Weichdach," *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, IX (1962), 107–111.

[32] F. Liebermann, "Hengist und Hors," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CLI (1927), 79. For such additional finds, see O. Huth, *Vesta*, pp. 84–85, and *Sagen, Sinnbilder, Sitten des Volkes* (Berlin, 1942), p. 80.

[33] See de Vries, *AGR*, II, 253. This pair is discussed in greater detail in a succeeding chapter.

V: Archaeological Evidence of the Germanic Divine Twins

[1] See the bibliography under this heading. Among the more complete treatments of Dioscuric iconography are those by Krüger, Schulz, Bing, and Miller.

[2] For a relatively complete survey of the Germanic evidence, see E. Krüger, "Die gallischen und die germanischen Dioskuren," *Trierer Zeitschrift*, XV (1940), 8–27; XVI–XVII (1941–1942), 1–66. See also, by the same author, "Das Tierfries-Beschlagstück aus dem Moorfund von Thorsberg," *Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, XXXIV–XXXV (1949–1950), 2. Hälfte, 112–124.

[3] J. Bing, "Der Götterwagen," *Mannus*, VI (1914), 266, fig. 7.

[4] J. Bing, "Das Kivikdenkmal," *Mannus*, VII (1915), 67, fig. 6. See also E. Krüger, "Die gallischen und die germanischen Dioskuren," pp. 39–40, for additional evidence.

[5] J. Bing, "Kivikdenkmal," p. 74.

[6] W. Steinhauser, "Kultische Stammesnamen in Ostgermanien," *Die Sprache*, II (1950–1951), 4–5.

[7] J. Bing, "Die Götter der südskandinavischen Felsenzeichnungen," *Mannus*, XIV (1922), 268, fig. 33 (from Seeland), fig. 34 (from Bardal).

[8] See K. Schneider, *Germanische Runennamen* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1956), p. 352; Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig* (Halle, 1923), p. 272; G. Kossinna, *Deutsche Vorgeschichte* (7th ed.; Leipzig, 1936), p. 91; A. H. Krappe, *Mythologie universelle* (Paris, 1930), p. 68.

[9] K. Schneider, *Runennamen*, p. 352.

[10] See Krüger, "Die gallischen und die germanischen Dioskuren," p. 54, fig. 71. A similar drawing was found at the Kivik excavation. See Bing, "Kivikdenkmal," p. 67, fig. 6.

[11] See Krüger, "Die gallischen und die germanischen Dioskuren," p. 53, fig. 70. See also Naumann, "Neue Beiträge zum altgermanischen Dioskurenglauben," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CL (1950), 91–101.

[12] See E. Krüger, "Die gallischen und die germanischen Dioskuren," p. 48, fig. 64. See also, Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, p. 273. N. Wagner, "Dioskuren," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXIX (1960), 228–229, contends that the razor was a cult item used in the initiation rites of youth societies and thereby supports his contention that the Germanic Divine Twins were associated with such groups.

[13] G. Wilke, "Der Weltenbaum und die beiden kosmischen Vögel," *Mannus*, XIV (1922), 92, fig. 14b. A strikingly similar drawing has been found in the British Isles. See W. Frazer, "Notes on incised sculpturings on stones in the cairns of Sliabh-Na-Calliaghe, near Longhcnew, County Meath, Ireland," *Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXVII (April, 1893) p. 331, fig. 60.

[14] See G. Wilke, "Der Weltenbaum," p. 92, fig. 14a.

[15] This item, from Mahlbek in Schleswig, is on display at the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in the city of Schleswig, Germany: Item no. 16 in the Bronze Age exhibit.

[16] "Germanische Bilddenkmäler des früheren Mittelalters," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XXXI (1957), 349–379.

[17] See the section "Divinities of the Dance," in chap. ii.

[18] "The Dancing Gods,"*Acta Archaeologica*, XXXI (1960), 101–127.

[19] R. Derolez, *Götter und Mythen der Germanen* (Zurich and Cologne, 1963), p. 159, fig. 6.

[20] See W. Schultz, *Altgermanische Kultur in Wort und Bild* (3d ed.; Munich, 1935), table 47, pp. 107–108.

[21] "Die gallischen und germanischen Dioskuren." See n. 2 above.

VI: Germanic Dual Kingship

[1] This report is also contained in the anonymous *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, seventh century A.D.

[2] See chap. i, the section "Treatment of the Mother of Twins."

[3] "Dioskuren, Jungmannschaften und Doppelkönigtum," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXIX (1960), 231–232. See also, K. Helm, "Wodan," *Giessener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie*,

LXXXV (1946), 20–22. W. Schultz sees the episodes as a recording of the transfer of reverence from the Vanir, to the Aesir (*Altgermanische Kultur in Wort und Bild* [Munich, 1935], pp. 45–46).

[4] See W. Bruckner, *Die Sprache der Langobarden* (Strasbourg, 1895), p. 218.

[5] Cf. ON *egg*, Engl. *edge*, NHG. *Ecke*; N. Wagner, "Dioskuren," p. 231.

[6] "Dioskuren," pp. 231–232. Wagner associates the word with ON *svínfylking* 'boar's tusk,' which was the designation for the wedge-shaped battle formation of Germanic warriors. At the point of the wedge stood the two leaders of the attack.

[7] See "The Horses of the Divine Twins," in chap. ii.

[8] The tusks of the wild boar were used in the making of tools and weapons by early Germanic peoples, and were later used to decorate the helmets and armor of warriors. See *Beowulf* 1111, 1286–1287. The tusks of boars have also been found in sanctuary sites. See Herold, "Eber," in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1929–1930), p. 517.

[9] See chap. v.

[10] See Scheftelowitz, "Horn," in *HDA*, IV, 325, who also demonstrates that an elaborate ritual accompanied the cutting of the horns of cattle before the animals were turned out to pasture.

[11] "Wandalische Götter," *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, XXVII (1926), p. 28.

[12] The Eddic myth is evidently a typical example of a tradition involving cross twins from whom a whole people traces its origin. Cf. Adam and Eve, Yama and Yami, and many more. See chap. i. If Much's contention is valid, it would appear that a tradition of cross twins became confused with a tradition involving parallel twins.

[13] "Kultische Stammesnamen in Ostgermanien," *Die Sprache*, II (1950/1952), p. 37.

[14] Meringer, "Indogermanische Pfahlgötzen," *Wörter und Sachen*, IX (1926), 109–111; J. Loewenthal, "Zur germanischen Wortkunde," *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XXXII (1916), 288. The meaning 'life,' 'binding force,' has also been attributed to Gothic *ans*; see E. Polomé, "L'etymologie du terme *ansuz," *Études germaniques*, VIII (1953), 36–43.

[15] "Zeugnisse und Exkurse," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XII (1865), 346–354. The Harlungen legend is discussed in chap. vii.

[16] "Pfahlgötzen," pp. 109–115.

[17] Leo Sternberg, "Der antike Zwillingskult im Lichte der Ethnologie," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LXI (1929), 164.

[18] "Anses," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, LVI (1932), 1–10.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[20] Compare, for example, the popular expression, still current, "by Jiminy!" This expression can be traced to the ancient practice of swearing oaths by the Heavenly Twins, i.e., "by Gemini." The expression itself has thus survived for centuries after its religious meaning had been forgotten.

[21] K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1913), I, 236, and R. Much, "Raus und Raptos," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XXXVI (1892), 47, have contended that *Raos* is cognate with Gothic *raus* 'reed' or 'cane.' Much later gave up this etymology in favor of the meaning 'pole.' R. Meringer, on the other hand, wanted to substitute *reyrr* 'stone pile' ("Pfahlgötzen," p. 109). The idols involved would thus be a wooden pillar mounted in a pile of stones. Aside from the fact that the etymology is doubtful, it is not probable that a migratory people would carry a pile of stones around with them, as A. H. Krappe has pointed out, "Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique," *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, VI (1931), 1–25. R. Much ("Raus und Raptos") has called attention to a group of Icelandic family names that mean 'beam,' 'post,' and the like; e.g., *Skokull*, *Sperra*, *Svi balki*, and *Stafr*.

[22] "Wandalische Götter," pp. 20–41.

[23] "Aurvandils tá," *Altschlesien*, V (1934), 388.

[24] See *Norsk-Isländska Skaldedigtningen* ed. E. A. Kock, (2d ed.; Lund, 1946), I, 323. See also, N. Wagner, "Dioskuren," p. 232.

[25] See F. R. Schröder, "Nerthus und die Nuithones," *Die Sprache*, VI (1960), 141.

[26] See F. Liebermann, "Hengist und Hors," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CLI (1927), 79.

[27] See O. Huth, *Vesta* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1943), p. 85. For illustrations of the heads, see Huth, *Sagen, Sinnbilder, Sitten des Volkes* (Berlin, 1942), pp. 30–32.

[28] See N. S. Aurner, *Hengest: A Study in Early English Hero Legend*, University of Iowa Studies, Humanistic Studies, vol. II, no. 1 (Iowa City, 1921). See also, K. Schreiner, *Die Sage von Hengest und Horsa*, Germanische Studien, 12 (Berlin, 1921). Each of these works, both published in the same year, makes an excellent compilation of the numerous sources on the exploits of the heroic brothers.

[29] See N. S. Aurner, *Hengest*, p. 13.

[30] See chap. ii. The episode is also contained in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 443–448. A similar episode is told by Suffridus Petrus (*De Fris. Antiq. et Orig.* II, 15), who reports that the brothers are sent to aid King Yglo in battle.

[31] See p. 40, above.

[32] See Jan de Vries, "Die beiden Hengeste," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXII (1953), 129.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[34] Hengest is also reported to have had a son whose name *Aesk* (var. *Oisk*) evidently is reflected in the name of the English dynasty *Aeskingas*. R. Much relates this name to the continental forms *Assi* and *Askr* ("Wandalische Götter," p. 39).

[35] Of the forty-one sources cited by N. S. Aurner, seventeen include the episode of drawing lots.

[36] See p. 27, above. See also, A. H. Krappe, *Mythologie universelle* (Paris, 1930), p. 94. For parallels from Greek tradition see S. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (Christiania, 1902).

[37] Hengest dominated the Anglo-Saxon scene to such a degree that the title of N. S. Aurner's book bears only his name. See n. 28 above.

[38] A survival of this Dioscuric contrast may perhaps be seen in the funeral processions of German noblemen which featured a "Horse of Joy" (*Freudenpferd*) and a "Horse of Mourning" (*Trauerpferd*) H. Gehrts, *Das Märchen und das Opfer* (Bonn, 1967), p. 72, contends that these horses represent "die göttlichen Zwillingspferde in ihrer ursprünglichen rituellen Gestalt."

[39] See H. Stötzel, *Die Sagen des Ahrtals*, 2. Aufl. (Bonn, 1953), p. 44.

[40] See the section "The Difference between the Divine Twins," in chap. ii.

VII: The Divine Twins in Germanic Heroic Traditions

[1] It should not be forgotten that the "barbarians" who invaded the Roman Empire were more or less Christianized (Arian) even before the invasions. For evidence of early conversion of Germanic peoples, see Wolfgang Lange, *Texte zur germanischen Bekehrungsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1962).

[2] See F. R. Schröder, "Ursprung und Ende der germanischen Heldendichtung," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, XXVII (1939), 326–327.

[3] An excellent study by the late J. de Vries, *Betrachtungen zum Märchen, besonders in seinem Verhältnis zur Heldensage und Mythos*, F. F. Communications, no. 150 (Helsinki, 1954), demonstrates the close relationship between heroic and mythological traditions.

[4] For example, both N. S. Aurner, *Hengest: A Study in Early English Hero Legend*, University of Iowa Studies, Humanistic Studies, Vol. II, no. 1 (Iowa City, 1921), and K. Schreiner, *Die Sage von Hengest und Horsa*, Germanische Studien, 12 (Berlin, 1921), were convinced that Hengest and Horsa were actual historical characters. Similarly, N. Wagner, "Dioskuren, Jungmannschaften und Doppelkönigtum," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXIX (1960) pp. 1–17, 225–247, is convinced that all the dual kings actually existed.

[5] "Die beiden Hengeste," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXII (1953), p. 128.

[6] See chap. ii, the section "Association of the Twins with Swans."

[7] The epic has been preserved in only one complete manuscript, a copy of the early sixteenth-century (Ambraser) *Heldenbuch*. The poem itself, however, was composed in the thirteenth century. Some of the observations I make in this chapter have already appeared in abbreviated form in my article "The Rescue of Kudrun: A Dioscuric Myth?" *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XXVI (1965), 334–353.

[8] B. Symons, "Heldensage," in *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, ed. H. Paul (Strasbourg, 1893), Vol. II, no. 1, pp. 53–55; A. Heusler "Kudrun," in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. J. Hoops (Strasbourg, 1915–1916), III, p. 113; H. Schneider, "Ursprung und Alter der deutschen Volksballade," *Vom Werden des deutschen Geistes, Ehrismann Festschrift*, ed. P. Merker and W. Stammler (Berlin and Leipzig, 1925), pp. 118–119; Fr. Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun* (Halle, 1901), pp. 399–405. Other investigators, e.g., H. Rosenfeld, "Die Kudrun: Nordseedichtung oder Donaudichtung?" *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXXI (1962), 289–314, maintain that the episode was invented by the poet, who based his creation on the Hilde portion of the epic. This, I believe, is highly unlikely. The two episodes share only a superficial resemblance, and it was not customary for MHG poets to invent their own plots. One occurrence of the theme which has been totally neglected by those who have investigated the prehistory of the epic is in the late Icelandic romance *Saulus and Nicanor*, which is discussed in the course of this chapter.

[9] R. Menéndez Pidal, "Supervivencia del poema de Kudrun," *Revista de Filologia española*, XX, (1933), 1–59; reprinted in German translation, "Das Fortleben des Kudrungedichtes," *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, V (1936), 85–122.

[10] Some investigators have considered it futile to attempt to isolate a mythological theme from the various traditions. See de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1956), II,

246–247. Others have pointed out that the theme of liberation of the Sun Maiden by the Divine Twins may owe its existence to a single Indo-European myth: A. H. Krappe, *Mythologie universelle* (Paris, 1930), p. 82; J. R. Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, 1906), p. 29; W. Mannhardt, "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, VII (1875), 329; L. von Schroeder, *Arische Religion* (Leipzig, 1915), II, 458. However, no one has yet attempted to isolate all the elements of the theme from the various traditions, as will be attempted here.

[11] There is evidence indicating that the Dioskouroi originally played the role of liberators in the more famous legend of Helen's abduction by Paris. Indeed, both the Theseus legend and the Trojan legend may have evolved from a common source. See S. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (Christiania, 1902), pp. 31–32.

[12] See L. Myriantheus, *Die Açvins oder die arischen Dioskuren* (Munich, 1876), p. 33.

[13] V. Elwin, *The Agaria* (London, 1942), p. 100 n. 1.

[14] A. Furtwängler ("Dioskuren," in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Vol. I, no. 1, cols. 1161–1162), Krappe (*Mythologie universelle*, pp. 81–82), and Myriantheus (*Die Açvins*, p. 83) all speak of the liberation of Uṣas by her brothers, the Aśvins. The hymns, however, do not specifically report such an incident.

[15] See *RV* 1.112.8; 1.116.14; 1.117.16; 10.39.13.

[16] *Die Açvins*, pp. 75–76: "Die Finsternis ist der Wolf, welche [sic] alles raubt und verschlingt, sie raubt abends die Aurora und verschlingt sie in ihren Rachen. In der Frühe jedoch befreit das Zwielicht [Die Aśvins] welches den Tag herbeibringt, jene wieder aus den finsteren Rachen der Höhle."

[17] "Pāṇḍava-sagan och Mahābhāratas mytiska förutsättningar," *Religion och Bibel*, VI (1947), 27–39. See also "Nakula et Sahadeva," *Orientalia Suecana*, VI (1957), 66–96.

[18] *Mhb.* X, 11.577. Compare *RV* 8.8.2, in which the Aśvins are reported to have lead Sūryā home in a chariot that resembled the sun (*rāthena sūryatvaca*).

[19] In chap. ii we noted that the triad of divinities is frequently envisioned in a boat at sea.

[20] See J. Kats, "The Rāmāyana in Indonesia," *BSOS*, IV (1927), 581.

[21] The birth of the twins lends support to the contention that the relationship of Sītā with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa was originally a polyandrous one, for the universal belief in the dual paternity of twins probably existed in the culture that produced the story.

[22] *Bengal Fairy Tales* (London and New York, 1920), pp. 139–149.

[23] Although it is not too difficult to determine the precise phenomena that evidently gave rise to the mythological themes, there is little need to do so for the purposes of this study. See W. Mannhardt, "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen."

[24] The songs quoted are from *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*, eds. A. Svābe, K. Straubergs, E. Hauzenberga-Šturma (Copenhagen, 1956), Vol. XI. They are listed by the page number and the Barons daina number in that order. See chap. ii, n. 19. Most of the songs were published in French translation by M. Jonval, *Les Chansons mythologiques lettonnes* (Paris, [1929]).

[25] See pp. 15–18, above.

[26] This theme also occurs in Vedic mythology. See p. 62, above.

[27] "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," p. 82, no. 72. Some dainas report that the Sun gave her daughter to the "Sons of the Morning Star" (383–33946).

[28] Several dainas report that the Sun Maiden celebrates a wedding with the Moon, and the Sons of God are in the wedding procession. For example, see (376–33865). The fact that more than one Sun Maiden is mentioned is doubtless the result of a secondary development, that is, another means of solving the problem posed by the polyandrous theme.

[29] Edward C. Dimock, Jr. (trans.), *The Thief of Love* (Chicago and London, 1963), pp. 271–272.

[30] "Die lettischen Sonnenmythen," p. 232.

[31] See Schullerus, *Verzeichnis der rumänischen Märchen*, FFC 78, Type 368C, "Baba Dochia."

[32] A legend involving King Arthur may represent a treatment of the Indo-European rescue theme. While Arthur is dying of wounds, he speaks to a kinsman saying he will go to Avalon and have his wounds treated by the fair fay Argante. Even as he spoke there came from the sea a small boat bearing two women wondrously clad. They took Arthur, laid him in the boat and sailed away (Layamon's *Brut*, III, 144–154). Layamon, a priest of Arley Regis, Worcester, ca. 1200, was of Scandinavian-Saxon parentage. Thus one might suspect the Layamon knew a Germanic Dioscuric legend, and reversed the sexes of the participants, enabling the episode to be applied to Arthur.

[33] See p. 15, above.

[34] The tenacity of such a passage is demonstrated by the Kudrun ballad collected in the German-speech island of Gottschee (Yugoslavia) in the nineteenth century. After the two rescuers say "good morning" to the maiden who is washing at the seashore, she replies: *Lai guat moarn hon i a*

beank 'Many good mornings I have few.' See A. Hauffen, *Die deutsche Sprachinsel Gottschee* (Graz, 1895), p. 249.

[35] One exception is Type 368C, an isolated Rumanian tale, in which the theme can be recognized. See p. 67, above.

[36] See A. H. Krappe, *The Legend of Rodrick* (Heidelberg, 1923), pp. 30–59; M. Roediger, "Die Sage von Ermenrich und Schwanhild," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, I (1891), 241–250; H. Naumann, "Neue Beiträge zum altgermanischen Dioskurenglauben," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CL (1950), 97.

[37] Naumann ("Neue Beiträge," p. 98) believes the report indicates the sudden epiphany of the twins as a divine warning to the king. If so, Ermanaric would represent the central figure of the lay. On the other hand, H. de Boor, in "Die nordische Svanhild Dichtung," *Erbe der Vergangenheit. K. Helm Festschrift* (Heidelberg, 1951), p. 50, argues convincingly that the brothers represent the protagonists and Ermanaric is their adversary.

[38] See Rassmann, *Die deutsche Heldensage und ihre Heimat* (Hannover, 1857–1863), I, 262–280, for a complete comparison of the various treatments of the legend. See also, Caroline Brady, *The Legends of Ermanaric* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943).

[39] See p. 61, above.

[40] Although such interpretations are highly speculative, the trampling of the golden-haired maiden who washes her hair in the sea could represent a concrete mythological image of darkness prevailing over the sun, which sinks into the sea. A similar interpretation was posited by Roediger, "Die Sage von Ermenrich," p. 248. Svanhild being trampled by the horses represented the sun being blotted out by the clouds. The brothers being stoned indicated darkness befalling the twin divinities of light. Roediger held, moreover, that the figure of Emanaric represented the Germanic Sky-God, *Irmintiu*.

[41] See Rassmann, *Die deutsche Heldensage*, I, 275, who points out that the "b" was evidently a scribal error for "h."

[42] See S. Bugge, "Hamðismál," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, VII (1876) 398–399; Rassmann, *Die deutsche Heldensage*, I, 262; Roediger, "Die Sage von Ermenrich," p. 248. Sarula is evidently a diminutive of Gothic *sarva* 'the weapons.' Thus the name apparently means 'the armed one.' *Ammius* is from Gothic *hama* 'covering,' and *þius* 'youth,' 'warrior.' The name was thus originally **Hamaþius* 'warrior in armor.' These etymologies, as far as I know, have never been disputed.

[43] See p. 40, above.

[44] See pp. 53–54, above.

[45] *Beowulf*, 1063 ff., and fragment of a heroic lay, *Finnsburg*.

[46] "Zeugnisse und Excurse zur deutschen Heldensage," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XII (1865), 253–386. See also, by the same author, "Das Alter des Ortnit," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIII (1867), 185–192, and *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (Berlin, 1920), IV, 487–488.

[47] See chap. v.

[48] *Hedenske kultminder i norske stedsnavne* (Kristiania, 1915). See pp. 35–36, above.

[49] See p. 52, above.

[50] "Wandalische Götter," *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, XXVII (1926), 20–41.

[51] "Kultische Stammesnamen in Ostgermanien," *Die Sprache*, II (1950–1952), 1–22.

[52] *Études de mythologie et de folklore germanique* (Paris, 1928), pp. 137–174.

[53] "Zeugnisse und Excurse," pp. 352–353.

[54] The hypothesis has been severely rejected by Heusler, "Ortnid," *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (Strasbourg, 1915–1916), ed. J. Hoops, III, 382–383, and by H. Schneider, *Die Gedichte und die Sage von Wolfdietrich* (Munich, 1913), pp. 379–381. A recent study by H. Gehrts, *Das Märchen und das Opfer* (Bonn, 1967), pp. 262–283, supports the hypothesis, and contributes a new interpretation. Gehrts sees the entire episode as the survival of an Indo-European Dioscuric ritual.

[55] See Brüder Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, no. 220.

[56] "Zeugnisse und Excurse," p. 353.

[57] K. Hissink and A. Hahn, *Die Tacana*, I: *Erzählungsgut* (Stuttgart, 1961), no. 216, p. 338.

[58] *La saga de Hadingus* (Paris, 1953), pp. 118–159.

[59] The same episode is told of Fjölnir in the *Ynglingasaga*, chap. 11.

[60] "Neue Beiträge zum altgermanischen Dioskurenglauben," p. 97.

[61] See F. Detter, "Zur Ynglingasaga," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, XVII (1894), 72–105, and B. Nerman, *Studier över Svärges hedna litteratur* (Uppsala, 1913), pp. 89–91. See also, H. Schück, *Studier i Ynglingatal* (Uppsala, 1905–1910) pp. 59–63.

[62] The legend is found in the *Bjarkamál*, in Saxo, in Snorri's *Edda*, and in the *Hrólfssaga*.

[63] *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, Agnete Loth, ed. (Copenhagen, 1963), II, 28–56.

[64] *Nordiske Oldskrifter* (Cophenhagen, 1860), XXVII, 31–36.

[65] See, for example, Peter Hallberg, *Den isländska sagan* (Stockholm, 1956).

[66] For a discussion of the various literary treatments, see R. Jaffray, *The Two Knights of the Swan, Lohengrin and Helyas* (New York, 1910).

[67] See, for example, F. Panzer, *Lohengrinstudien* (Halle, 1894); R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Authurian Romance* (New York, 1927), pp. 311–319; J. F. D. Bloete, "Der zweite Teil der Schwanrittersage," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XXXVIII (1894), 272–288; and by the same author, "Der historische Schwanritter," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXI (1897), 176–191, and "Das Aufkommen des clevischen Schwanritters," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XLII (1898), 1–55. For a more complete bibliography on the problem, see G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1935), II, 2. Abschnitt, 2. Hälfte, p. 44.

[68] *Die Gudrunsage. Eine Vorgeschichte des Epos* (Göttingen, 1948), pp. 148–156, 173–175. Jungandreas assumed that the Swan Knight tradition had a direct influence on the Kudrun epic.

VIII: Miscellaneous Evidence of the Germanic Divine Twins

[1] Compare, for example, Homeric Hymn no. 33, in which the poet states that the sudden epiphany of the twins strikes joy in the hearts of the sea voyagers.

[2] *Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda*, ed. G. Jónsson (Reykjavit, 1959), III, 241–246.

[3] W. Hertz, *Deutsche Sagen im Elsass* (Stuttgart, 1872), p. 106.

[4] Henne-am-Rhyn, *Die deutsche Volkssage* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 402. The legend reports that the brothers had been bitter enemies and had slain each other centuries before. It is conceivable that this legend represents a secondary etiological narrative which was invented to explain the mysterious phenomenon when the meaning of the epiphany was no longer understood.

[5] "Neue Beiträge zum altgermanischen Dioskurenglauben," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CL (1950), p. 94. The report that the stars became dislodged from their orbits could be an indication of the astral nature of the Divine Twins. See K. Scott, "Drusus nicknamed 'Castor,'" *Classical Philology*, XXV (1930), 158–159. Scott also believes the report was founded on a Dioscuric myth; however, unlike Naumann, he contends that the myth is of Roman origin.

[6] See pp. 50–51, above.

[7] "Neue Beiträge," p. 98. Naumann contends that the Gothic Ermanaric legend was founded on a similar report of the epiphany of the Germanic Divine Twins. According to Jordanes (*Get.*, 24), the two youths Ammius and Sarus stabbed the aging Gothic king in the side with their spears. The very appearance of the youths, as much as their wounding of the aging ruler, signaled the end of his reign.

[8] "Neue Beiträge," p. 99.

[9] For a critical discussion of such studies, see H. Ljungberg, *Den nordiska religionen och kristendom* (Stockholm, 1938), and R. L. M. Derolez, *Götter und Mythen der Germanen* (Zurich and Cologne, 1963), pp. 311–312.

[10] See the bibliography under this heading. Among the best studies are those by Deubner, Gregoire, Harris, Jaisle, and Krappe.

[11] J. R. Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London, 1903), p. 3.

[12] Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, 1906), p. 100.

[13] Wrede, "Kosmas und Damian," in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, II, 107. I was unable to obtain the recently published book by Anneliese Wittmann, *Kosmas und Damian*, before submitting my manuscript to press.

[14] Harris, *Dioscuri*, p. 56.

[15] Krappe, "Spanish Twin Cults," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, VIII (1932), 3.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 6; J. Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 68.

[17] Krappe, "Spanish Twin Cults," p. 4. According to a travel report of the nineteenth century, "Two Voyages to New England," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, III (1895), 215, the apparition of two flames (St. Elmo's fire) on the main mast prognosticated safety. These flames were called St. Nicholas and St. Hermes.

[18] Harris, *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 71.

[19] Krappe, "Spanish Twin Cults," p. 3.

[20] Harris, *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, pp. 83–84.

[21] H. Günter, *Die Christliche Legende des Abendlandes* (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 60–69.

[22] Harris, *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 69.

[23] Krappe, "Spanish Twin Cults," p. 7.

[24] Wrede, "Kosmas und Damian," pp. 207–208.

IX: Dioscuric Themes in Popular Oral Tradition

[1] See K. Ranke, *Die zwei Brüder, eine Studie zur vergleichenden Märchenforschung*, FF Communications, no. 114 (Helsinki, 1934), which treats 770 variants. Quite recently—after I first submitted this manuscript to press—there appeared a remarkable work by Heino Gehrts, *Das Märchen und das Opfer. Untersuchungen zum europäischen Brüdermärchen* (Bonn, 1967), which is devoted entirely to the tale of the Two Brothers and to the ritualistic configurations that, according to Gehrts, underlie the tale. The folktale, argues Gehrts, is the expression of an ancient Dioscuric ritual and, as such, is even older than the mythological and heroic traditions involving the twins. The tale has preserved the essence of an ancient rite in which one brother was sacrificed to help the surviving brother lead his people to victory in battle. With remarkable insight, Gehrts has constructed an elaborate complex in the various manifestations of this Indo-European ritual as they are reflected in history, legend, and literature. The main difficulty is that this gigantic, masterfully constructed edifice rests on the foundation of his theory of the ritualistic significance of the folktale. If this theory should prove untenable, his entire structure would collapse in a pile of rubble. If, however, the theory should prove tenable, his investigation would have to be considered a brilliant piece of scholarship. Unfortunately, his theory is of such a nature that it can be neither proved nor disproved, and the reader is thus left with the uncomfortable feeling that Gehrts may be right, but we shall never know for certain. In any event, scholars can be grateful to Gehrts for assembling a remarkable amount of evidence, which is treated with no little erudition. Moreover, the book is very stimulating to read.

[2] "The Legend of Amicus and Amelius," *Modern Language Review*, XVIII (1923), 152–161. It has already been demonstrated that in the Indo-European tradition one of the twins is frequently a docile, obedient servant, while the other is a more heroic figure.

[3] See Aarne and Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, FFC 184, Type 516B. The Middle High German *Spielmannsepos* entitled *Salman und Morolf* is evidently related to this subtype.

[4] See pp. 35–36 and 63 above. In the Rāmāyaṇa one of the brothers is a docile, obedient servant. Elements of the Indo-European Kudrun theme were found in an Indian and in a Rumanian folktale (see pp. 64 and 67, above). These, however, represent isolated occurrences and are not included in the Aarne-Thompson index.

[5] "Valentine and Orson," *Modern Language Notes*, XLVII (1932), 493–498.

[6] One exception is the relatively late ballad tradition that treats the Kudrun theme and is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

[7] See L. Röhrich, "Nachwort," in *Deutsche Sagen*, ed. by Brothers Grimm (Munich, 1965), pp. 634–635, for a discussion of ancient religious concepts that have survived in folk legends.

[8] The attempt of A. H. Krappe to posit as Dioscuric in origin a cycle of legends in which two brothers become bitter enemies is not convincing. See his *Études de mythologie et de folklore germanique* (Paris, 1928), pp. 154–165.

[9] See, for example, R. Menéndez Pidal, "Das Fortleben des Kudrungedichtes," *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, V (1936), 85–122; B. Boesch, "Kudrunepos und Ursprung der deutschen Ballade," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, XXVIII (1940) 259–277; and H. Rosenfeld, "Die Kudrun: Nordseedichtung oder Donaudichtung?" *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXXI (1962), 298. Cf., however, Roswitha Wisniewski, *Kudrun* (Stuttgart, 1963), pp. 17–37, 51–54. For an excellent survey of recent Kudrun research, see W. Hoffman, "Die Hauptprobleme der neueren 'Kudrun' Forschung I," *Wirkendes Wort*, XIV (1964), 183–196, who contends that it is an open question whether the ballad tradition gave rise to, or was founded on, the MHG epic.

[10] Adolf Hauffen, *Die deutsche Sprachinsel Gottschee* (Graz, 1895). See also, J. Meier, *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1935), I, no. 4.

[11] See A. Hauffen, *Die deutsche Sprachinsel Gottschee*, pp. 260–263.

[12] See M. Kübel, *Das Fortleben des Kudrunepos* (Leipzig, 1929), who has shown a number of additional places where there is a striking agreement in detail between the epic and ballad.

[13] "Supervivencia del poema de Kudrun," *Revista de Filología española*, XX (1933), 1–59; reprinted in German translation, *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, V (1936), 85–122. Two former members of the Spanish Department of the University of California, Los Angeles, Professors Samuel Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman, have collected countless variants of this ballad among the descendants of the Sephardic Jews who were exiled from Spain in 1492. I am indebted to them for allowing me to consult the texts of these ballads, which have not yet been published. They have been collected from Sephardic peoples throughout North America, North Africa, the Near East, and Greece. The variants of the ballads in Greece may be responsible for a group of ballads in the Balkans and in Russia which treat the same theme and have generally been ignored by Kudrun scholars. See Viktor Schirmunski, *Vergleichende Epenforschung* (Berlin, 1961), I, 106; M.

O'C. Walsche, "Kudrun in the Balkans," *The Slavonic Review*, XXVI (1948), 484–493; and Ivan Grafenauer, *Lepa Vida* (Ljubljana, 1943).

[14] See F. Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun* (Halle, 1901), pp. 399–402. See also M. Kübel, *Das Fortleben des Kudrunepos*.

[15] The ballads occur in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Iceland. Both Kübel and Menéndez Pidal have discussed most of the variants in their respective monographs.

[16] In contrast to Menéndez Pidal, Kübel maintains that only the Meererin ballads are dependent on the German epic. The other ballads predate the epic.

[17] "Zur Kudrun Problematik: Ballade und Epos," to appear in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*.

[18] *Wikingische und spielmännische Elemente im zweiten Teil des Gudrunliedes* (Halle, 1934).

[19] This common ancestor may well have also been the source for the Icelandic story *Saulus and Nicanor*, discussed in chap. vii.

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